selves up. So far, there has



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PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

We are verily guilty concerning our brother therefore is this distress come upon us.

CINCINNATI, TUESDAY, JANUARY 9, 1838.

THE PHILANTENDPIST

AMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., Biller

OLUME I. NO. I. NEW SERIES

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

N. W. corner of Main & Stath streets,

OINCINNATI, OHIO.

and to did all of From the Bernid of Freedom.

To the Memory of Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy. was slain at Alton (Ill.) Nov. 7, 1837, while ene g to re-establish a race antigrous sares, ad been wirk times destroyed.

Well done!' a glorious slumber Is thine, O, martyred one, With thy harness all ungirded, And thy banner to the sun ! With the loty words of freeden Burning still upon the tongue, And the faithful arms of WOMAN In her love around thee flung !

And the bolt of fire is past, And thy spirit hath departed,— True and fearless to the last Thou hast sealed thy fealty To a high and holy faith, in the red blood of baptism-By a swift and martyr death.

In the darkness of the midnight, When priest and people slept, All, save some lonely sentinel Who his solomn watch-fire kept:-When the whirlwind and the earthquak And the fire had burnt and riven-With thy mantle wrapped about thee
And thy meek eye turned to heaven;-

To thee, awake and watching, Shone a star-beam in the sky; And a still, small voice was uttered Like a Spirit passing by ! Oh, a high and fearful messa; Was committed unto thee— Words of promise to the bonds And of warning to the free ;-

When the foulness of the temple Was most rank and vile within. And the altar-stone was recking In the putridocor of sin, In the ear of mad Oppression When the carnival of blood And of ravage was the fiercest-To proclaim the truth of God!

'Well done!' with prophet boldne Thou spakest as 'twas given thee The whole and perfect word. Beautiful upon the mountains Was thy way, in brightness clad, And the hungry in the desert

At thy coming steps were glad.

'Well done!' henceforth forever Shall thy spirit go abroad, Free in the perfect liberty Of the children of our God! The mystery is ended-Faith has passed away in sight-The glory of TRUTH is around thee Like a firmament of light.

We mourn for thee, O brother, Not as the mother may, When the children of her bos By the sword are swept away,-Not as a nation mourneth When her strong and mighty die,

And her banners torn and trodder On the field of battle lie, O we mourn as when the altar Hath cast down its holy light, And the Angel's wings are spread For his departing flight. We mourn as when the Freedom Of a Woner has been betrayed.

And at the feet of Violence

A Punerr's Riones are laid. Fallen! a thousand voices
From thy blood shall cry to Hea And in judgement and in terror Shall an answer back be given, The right arm of JEHOVAR

Hail stones and coals of fire. Smite and burn along His path. Through the deep glades of the forcat, Where the woodman's are is heard, Where the thick grass of the prairie From the valleys to the hill-tops Shall a thrilling cry go out, And a thousand torrent waters

Swell and render back the short From the free land of the Pilgrims Sea crag and mountain glen,-Prom the mighty nation rison
Round thy sepulchre, O Penn,
Prom the ocean takes rock-girded As when a storm is nigh.

And the deep roar of its waters Swift from the Western Highla Which the red sun tinks behind A strong wound, like the rush Of a great and mighty wind,

D'er the Alleghanys sweeping

Bown the Mississippi's wave,

Shall be heard through all the regio

Where Man is hold a Stave!

A siern rebuke shall thunder
As if the heavens spoke—
be voice which Farrness ut
Is her indignation Is her indignation woke.
or Frenth and Right, the Pulpir hall raise its trumpet plea,

And, blood besprinkled, Brother The Pauss shall still be free!

On the fresh mound heaped above thee, Laying brow and besom bare, olemnly, in consecration, Kneeling unto God in prayer,-

In renewedness of purpose,
In the strength of Love and Faith, We will bind ourselves together Unto triumph or to death,

The spirit of our fathers Is in our bosom yet, Our hearts are as unshrinking, And our nerves as firmly set. We will speak as we have spoken With our words unmeted still, With the INTELLECT forever - FREE FROM THE DESPOT'S WILL!

ANTI-SLAVERY.

The Seed already Springing up.

DECEMBER, 20, 1837. Dear Brother Leavitt .- It is with unfeigned pleasure, that I send you for publication the two following letters that I have just received—one from the Rev. Dr. Hawes—the other from the Rev. Dr. Chapin, of Connecticut. For me to speak here of the character of these gentlemen to you who know them so well, or even before this community, would You and every other abolitionist, I feel assured

will rejoice with me, that such evidences are yet furnished, that the life, the spirit of liberty still lives and breathes in our land. But whilst we re-joice, that Dr. Chapin and Dr. Hawes have taken their stand publicly before this nation as the advocates of freedom for those who are yet free, and of liberty for the poor and the afflicted heathen in our midst, how deeply have we to lament that so many of influenc are to be found amongst us, who, if they are not warring against us, are looking on with coldness and indifference! To all such, who are spectators of the assaults which slavery is making on liberty in this land-who see the attempts that are making to incorporate oppression into Christianity the prostration of the sacred right of petition in Congress; who see, in the free States, the power of the monster slavery employed in demolishing the press that dares speak of its iniquities, and in murdering those who peril and lay down their lives in its defence;—to all such, I would say, in the language of a brother—are you willing to die in your present attitude, and as a neutral in such a contest, go to the judgment seat of christ? I trust you are not, and that the noble example set by a Hawes and a Chapin an a Kinsley*, will excite many others

a Chapin an a Kinsie, to the same good work.

Yours, &c.,

JAMES G. BIRNEY.

James G. Birney Esq:
My Dear Sir Will you have the goodness to receive the name of Calvin Chapin as a member of

Innocent blood cries to heaven from the ground. The martyred and much lamented Lovejoy speaks, by the cause and manner of his death, in tones of portentous import.

His sufferings are an outrage on liberty, whether civil and social, or moral and religious. Until the cause of such frantic and infuriated licentiousness shall be effectually suppressed, who can be safe What friend of righteousnes, and of well being

can look, with hope, for protection in the enjoy ment and practice of good principles? Who con sequently, can indulge apathy on this subject, and be guiltless?

Slavery, the detestation of heaven, and the ab horrence of the heavenly-minded on earth—Slavery, in our republican understanding and application of the term is the eriminal source of that sanguinary despotism, which kindles conflagration, and per-petrates murder. There is an imperious "need be," that this gigantic tyranny be throughly swept from the blotted face of our country. If it is not, these States can have no just claim to call themselves

Who, then, at this ominous crisis, can withhold his name, his hand, the influence of his mightiest, energies, and be blameless? Allow me to state, briefly, the sentiments I have

long held and which I expect perseveringly to in-1. The contempt, which white people, in the free

states, feel and manifest towards their colored neighbors, is a heinous iniquity. It has the reprobatio of every good person, who intelligently considers the demands of unchangeable truth and righteourness. It should forthwith and forever cease.

2. The laws of the slave states sustaining th bondage of their millions, derived either wholly, or in part, from Africa—are immoral, impious, and heaven-provoking. They authorise a violation of Jehovah's moral law. They, of course, are made and used in support of wickedness. Truth, justice, equity, good principles, without exception, require their instant repeal. Never can men enact a law, which is able to justify the transgression of precepts, revealed and proclaimed by the King Eternal.—
His statutes are—and interminably will be—of paramount and invincible obligation.

Let, therefore the legislators of every slave state

be urged, without ceasing, to expunge, and annihilate those laws which sanction oppression and cruelty. Let the place of bad laws be supplied, by the enaction and establishment of such as secure to each individual, those equal rights, to which every person has, by nature, a just claim. Untiringly press them to prohibit and, by the severest penal ies, to prevent, every branch of traffic in l

beings.
With equal importunity, urge their duty of forbidding the amalgamation of colors, excepting on the moral principles of Christian marriage. Exhort them to command those under whose superintendence and control, any people of color are providentially placed—not to turn their slaves out loose upon tisky placed—not to turn their slaves out loose upon the world, to take care of themselves. Such turning loose is not required by the only right emancipation. Rather let them be obliged to instruct and educate them, as if they were not colored—to provide for their comfortable subsistence—to shut the driver and his whip entirley from the field—to protect the aged: the decreped, the young, the helpless—to admit immediately, and in full, to the rights of free citizens, such as, by a righteous estimate, are judged qualified to exercise those rights intelli-

Kinstey, U.S. A., a professor at West Point ted Gavernor of Liberia in 1834. His letter of the A. A. S. Society was published in the Eman

culichten the public and Yours, in the bonds of stellisonier."

who can labor—to compensate equitably the operative for his work—and, in a word, to give them the means of p ersonal qualification to them the means of p ersonal qualification to possess and enjoy the civil and moral—the literary and religious—rights of republican freedom. As fast as they become thus qualified, bestow upon them those rights, in full, as they are bestowed

upon white people. Such is a mere, and quite imperfect, outline of that immediate emancipation which I advocate-which, I cannot doubt, is righteous—which heav en's law demands-which is perfectly practicable and which is obviously safe, both for the oppressor

Allow, if required, that, for years, the colored portion of our great community must be a cast by themselves, and distinct from the whites. This can form no valid objection to the manumission here

Grant, too, that to man's depraved dislike of labor to his guilty love of power—to his wicked avarice—and to his licentious appetites and passons, American slavery, which is said to be worst that is known among nations denominate hristian, presents very strong temptations to sinful indulgence. Be it remembered, however, that temptation can never justify iniquity. In no case can it render innocent either the invasion or the withholding of rights. Every person has strength enough to overcome and defeat temptation. Christ requires every person to use that strength, and to

Temptations to wickedness appear to be tolerated, in our work, for the purpose of showing what every person's character and choice are—whether, through the love of iniquity, to comply or—whether, by the power of moral principle to conquer. The High and Holy One never places a moral agent in a condition which compels him to sin, or enders the avoidance of wickedness impossible. True emancipation demands that slaveholcers begin their reformation by ceasing to sin, in their treatment of their colored neighbors, and proceed, without delay, to do them every kind of good in

Be it, then, the object of intense pursuit by the Imerican Anti-Slavery Society to obtain the remo val of every bad custom and law, with ceaseless perseverance, to insist on the adoption of measures, in relation to colored people, which harmonize with he perfect law of the living and true God. His law is immutable. Like his being and his throne, it endures forever. Never can it cease to be an invariable rule of duty.

Nowhere does it justify, or give an example of, uch slavery as is practiced in some of these states. In no chapter or verse does it warrant the treatment of a neighor as if he was only a beast of burdennowhere as part and parcel of a herd-a drove of cattle—driven to the shambles, or to the scaffold of the auctioneer, and there offered for sale to the highest bidder. Even the pretence, therefore, that the Bible warrants such slavery, as our perverted republic contains, is thought to be weak and gross absurdities which the wilfully-deceived do ever employ to blind their mental eyes, moral agents can ever shun their final accountableness for the manner in which they regard and treat the binding requisition of divine revelation.

With great respet, the best wishes, and arden prayers for your prosperity in the arduous and good vork you are performing, very affectionately yours. CALVIN CHAPIN.

HARTFORD, DEC. 7th, 1837.

To the Secretary of the American A. S. Society.

Dear Sir-it is now nearly three years since my mind has been decidedly made up, in favor of the great principles and aims of the American Anti-Society. With all the sentiments held by individual members of the Society I have not con curred; and the spirit and manner with which some of its friends have attempted to advance its interests, I have not approved. Neither have I supposed the Society responsible for the errors and defects which may have been found in some of its advocates. I should have lived to little purpose in the world, I should indeed be a most unworthy advocate of the gospel itself, if I had yet to learn how to separate the merits of a cause from the imperfec tions of its advocacy. The American Anti-Slave-ry Society stands on its principles and arms as dec-lared in the constitution. These I hold to be true, benevolent and christian; and they must an will prevail. My earnest prayer is that all efforts made to give them prevalency may hereafter be conducted in the spirit of christian kindness and

But as I occupy a station of great responsibilty as a minister of Christ, I have felt, as if duties of paramount importance might excuse me from taking any active part in promoting the object of the Society, and even from appearing as its open and avowed friend. I have been aware too, that many of the people to whom I minister, and others in places where I am occasionally called to labor, entertain views different from my own in relation to this cause; and I was not willing to take a stand, in regard to this strangely misunderstood and most unpopular subject, which should awaken prejudice, or in any way prevent my doing them all the good I could as their servants for Jesus sake. But I can keep back no longer. Indeed that I have kept back so long, I now feel to have been wrong, though I did not intend it; and I hasten to make what atone ment I can by wishing you to insert my name as member of your Society. The movements which have of late been made to put down anti-slavery sentiments, by attacking the freedo mof speech and of the press, and recently by taking the life of an innocent citizen and faithful minister of Christ, leaves me no longer at liberty to withhold what measures of influence. I possess for the support of a is forced, in the providence of God to contend for rights, which every true christian and patriot must hold dearer than life. I may not have it in my power to serve this cause to the extent of my wish-es. But in a contest, like that which it is now-called to maintain, both in behalf of slaves and of freemen, I wish to have it known on which side I am. I wish to have it known on which side I am. I wish to be on the right side, in reference to every question of truth and duty; and which that will appear to be, in relation to the cause, now every ery where spoken against, at the judgement day, I feel there is no room for doubt.

Affectionately yours,

We extract the following excellent article, concern roes and slaves, from the Discipline of the Society of riends of Ohio Yearly Meeting, printed by direction of the

gently and correctly—to find employment for those Meeting held at Mount Pleasant, in the year 1819. It is

As a religious society, we have found it to be our indispensable duty to declare to the world, our belief of the repugnancy of slavery to the christian religion. It therefore remains to be our continued ncern, to prohibit our members from holding in ondage our fellow-men. And, at the present time we apprehend it to be incumbent on every indivi-dual, deeply to consider his own particular share in this testimoney. The slow progress in the emanci-pation of this part of the human family, we lament; but nevertheless, do not despair of their ultimate en-largment. And we desire that Friends may not suffer the deplorable condition of these our enslaved suffer the deplorable condition of these our enslaved fellow-beings, to lose its force upon their minds, through the delay which the opposition of interest-ed men, may occasion in this work of justice and mercy; but rather be animated to consider, that the longer the opposition remains, the greater is the ne-cessity, on the side of righteousness and benevolence, for our steady perseverance iu plea ding

their cause. Let us also, amidst our sympathy for the sufferers, not forget to cultivate those sensations. which direct the mind in pity towards the deplorable state of such men, whether in foreign countries or sur own, as promote, procure and execute, the tearing away of the Africans from their native land, as well as for those who detain them in bondage; re-membering, that they are men, equally interested with us, in the rewards of futurity. Believing therefore, as we do, that a just and dreadful retribution awaits the unrepenting and obdurate oppress-or, at that awful tribunal, where sophistry will not prevail to exculpate; let us seek for, and cherish, that disposition of mind, which can pray for these enemies of humanity, and fervently breathe for their restoration to soundness of judgment, and purity

of principle.

In relation to this oppressed people, we earnestly desire, that such of them as may be under the care of any of our members, may be treated with kindness, and as objects of the common salvation, instructed in the principles of the christian religion, as well as in such branches of school-learning as may fit them for freedom, and to become useful members of civil society. Also, that Friends in their respective neighbourhoods, advise and assist such of them as are at liberty, in the education of

their children, and common worldly concerns. If any in membership with us, should hire slaves to assist them in their business, it is the judgment of the Yearly Meeting, that in so doing, such promote the unrighteous traffic, and oppose our testimony agains slavery. And where they cannot be prevailed upon to desist therefrom, Monthly Meetings are at liberty to declare their disunity

If any of our members should purchase slaves, erated after a term of years, however they may be induced thereto, from an apparent motive of contributing to the cause of humanity; vet it is the judgment of the Yearly Meeting, that it is a practice which ought to be discouraged; believing practice which ought to be discouraged; believing that upon due reflection it will be found, that those do not suport a faithful testimony against slavery.

timony, would lead our members to avoid acting as executors or administrators, to estates where slaves are bequeathed, or being accessary to any step whereby their bondage may be prolonged.

The situation of those black people who have

been held as slaves, by any of us or our predecessors, calls for our serious examination and enquiry, how far we are clear of withholding from them what, under such an exercise, may be opened to our view as their just right: and we earnestly aud affectionately intreat those in particular, who have reestations of duty. Even if no such obligations o this people existed amongst us, it is worthy of our consideration, whether any object of beneficence is more deserving of our regard, than that of train-ing up their youth in such virtuous principles and abits, as may render them useful and respectable aembers of the community.

And further, it is the conclusion of the Yearly Meeting, that if any of our members are concerned in importing, selling, or purchasing, or shall give away, or transfer, any negro or other slave, with or without any other consideration than to clear their estate of future incumbrance, or in such manner that their bondage is continued beyond the time mited by law or eustom for white persons; and so, if any shall accept of such gift or assignment or the proceeds of the sale of such persons, they ought to be speedily treated with in the spirit of ove and wisdom, in order to convince them of the niquity of their conduct: and if, after christia ur, they cannot be brought to such a sense of their injustice, as to do whatever the Monthly Meeting shall judge to be necessary, for the restoration of such slave to his or her natural and just liberty, and condemn their deviation from the law of right usness and equity, to the satisfaction of the sai eeting, such ought to be disowned as other trans ressors are, for immoral, unjust, and reproachful

POLITICAL.

Remarks of Mr. Foote, of Cuyahoga.

In the presentation by him, of a bill making townships and incorporated villages responsible to individuals receiving damage by mob vio-lence, and those engaged in mobs in turn responsible to the townships and villages, Mr. TREVITT having moved to strike from

Mr. Foore regretted that he should be obliged to express his views at this time, or upon a motion of this kind—but as he introduced the bill, and believed it contained principles of the highest importance—principles which, if adopted, would be the hould proceed to state the reasons which would addee him to oppose the motion to strike out.

It is admitted, said Mr. F., that it is the duty of very good government to protect its citizens to protect their lives, their liberty, and their property. It is peculiarly the policy of our Government, and the ardent desire of our people, to secure this end. The history of our ancestors, both in England and in this country, presents a record of their continual struggle for the establishment and maintenance of this principle. For this they left their native land, and planted a new nation upon these shores. They have attempted to lay its foundations broad and deep in the Constitution of our National and State Governments. They have promulgated it in our laws and so far as these are upheld, personal liberty, personal security, and private property, are sa-

thy ancestors—or if we would give to our people what they ardently desire, our duty is plain, we should give sanction and efficiency to the laws—we should, in all cases and under all circumstances, sustain their supremacy. None should be supported by the calm upon the surface, but illy shows the and despair which is felt upon this subject arises rather from the feeling that all is lost, rather from a willing acquiescence in the supremacy. we should, in all cases and under all circumstances, sustain their supremacy. None should be so high as to be above them—none so low as to be beneath their protection. If Paul could secure inviolability to himself by the expression, "I am a Roman Citizen," the rights of citizenship in Republican America should secure equal immunity. The laws of our country should be a wall of defence around all, the humblest and highest of our citizens. Is this so? It has been 'our boast-and to a certain extent, and in some parts of our country, it may be true at the present time—as between individuals the law is still supreme; but in many instances of late, masses of individuals have risen upon the laws, and have trampled them and the rights of individual ci-tizens in the dust. Private property has been de-stroyed—the jail, (strange as it may seem.) has been sought as the only place of security; and the soil of our country is even now wet with the blood of her sons, sacrificed to the fury of this spirit. These crimes go unpunished. As a necessary consequence, we must conclude, they will grow with our growth and strengthen with our strength, and if unchecked, the human mind cannot measure the

It may be thought that, while what has been said is true of some parts of our land, it is not true of our State, and that we do not need special legislation upon the subject. But we are not guiltless in this thing, and if we have more respect for the laws than others, it is the very point where preventive measures can be used with most hope of success. This is not only the place, but now is the time when this great State should speak out upon this subject.—When she should mark her disapprobation of mobs, and say, as she has the power, to this spirit, "hitherto shalt thou come but no fur-Pass this bill, sir, and in my humble judgment the thing is done.

In the first place, it is evidence of your sincere

desolation and ruin of which they are but the fore-

disapprobation of, and desire to put down mobs. There is no double aspect about it; no secret encouragement to that which you are prohibiting. You pledge all of property, and all of nerve and sinew you possess, as tokens of your sincerity. You range, all these on the side and in defence of your laws. You take advantage of all that moral power which is ever the attendant of consistencywhich is ever invincible. Again-though the pro visions of this bill are a compensation in damages by the place where the injury is done, its object is and its effect will be, prevention. There is no inducement to destroy the property of individuals, where such a law exists. In case the house of an obnoxious individual should be destroyed, the puishment upon him would be no more severe than upon every other tax-paying member of the com-munity in which he lives. What would now be unity in which he lives. hought of the sagacity of that individual, who wishing to do an injury to a neighbor, should set fire to the town house where he resided? It would be supposed that the punishment was rather far-Still it would be just as relevant as the destruction of individual property, where comper

sation is made by the public.

But further, by this bill we not only recognize the principle, that it is duty, but we make it the interest of the whole, to protect the property o each. By it we place mobs in this positionthey destroy property, they destroy their own pro-perty. They must disregard entirely the promptngs of interest, or else they will become property protectors instead of property destroyers. I oughtrather to say that you could not create a mob against property, under such circumstances. A single individual under the impulse of sudden passion, will do many acts against his interest. So will a mass of individuals after they have become inflamed, But it is not possible to take a cool and reflecting community, and inflame it against its own interest. You place the press in the position it would occupy after the passage of this bill, and its proportion of combustibles would not be furnished. You place men of property in this position and their winks would all be withheld. You place the public unler this regimen, and its pulse would beat healthily in favor of the laws. You let the mob spirit feel this pulse, as it always does, and it would be effect

It is objected to the principle of this bill, that i novel. Such is not the fact. Alfred the Great, than whom no English monarch has left a more enviable reputation, made it the basis of his domes ic constitution. He commenced his reign over a fierce, insubordinate and comparative lawless community-before that reign terminated, the people of England were mutually protecting and protected by the laws. Again, by statute in the reign of Edward the first, the hundred is made liable for robberies committed within it, in case they fail to raise the hue and cry and take the robbers. As near our own times as the reign of George the first, by statute, certain crimes therein enumerated, are made felonies, and the hundred made liable for their commission within its limits. It is also understood. though of this I am unable to speak from deculand, and a principle analogous to this, runs through the codes of many of the States of this Union, making townships liable for all injuries occasioned by their neglect to keep their roads and bridges in making townships hable for all injuries occasioned by their neglect to keep their roads and bridges in proper repair. But the objection which has been most frequently stated and most strenuously arged against this measure is, that it is taking the property of an innocent community, to compensate an individual who has no claim upon it. The force of this plausible objection is not apparent. When men congregate in communities, they give up certain rights, that they may enjoy others more perfectly—and that right, which above all others, is thought to be peculiarly sacred, is protection. If in any instance this is not afforded, then the community have so far failed in their duty, and are bound to make a compensation. But further, if a community fail to afford protection against the law-less violence of its own members, it is most clearly bound to make compensation, because it is itself the guilty and procuring cause of the wrong. It has countenanced, it has created the cause of the mischief, or it never would have had existence, and no one can justly say that it shall not be answerable for the consequence of its own conduct. and he one can justly say that it shall not be an awerable for the consequence of its own conduct. Thus far a reply has been attempted to this objection, on the ground that the evil would not be prevented; the reverse of which, for reasons previous

mean to do my constituents the justice to believe that they can see palpable evils, and that they wish to have them removed. I believe they wish to be protected in all their rights, and I am not afraid to proceed upon the principle that they will be will ling to extend to others, the bicssings they desire

for themselves.
The same object which is sought in the section of this bill, by arraying the interest whole community against mobs, is pursued in the third section, by making it the interest of the whole community, where this lawless violence is committed, to bring the offenders to justice. To prevent crime you must make punishment follow aurely and closely upon its heels. To encourage it you must suffer it to pass with impunity. The growth and rapid increase of mobs, fully establish these positions. From first to last, scarcely one punishment has been inflicted upon these violations of law. This fact shows the connivence of community. The still more fearful prospect before us, and the necessity of arraying the whole commun ty in interest and in feeling for the purpose of oringing the actors in such scenes to merited punishment. For these reasons I am opposed to the present motion, and hope it will not prevail.

Now, that it is openly proposed, by the politicians of the South, to incorporate Texas into the Union, for the avowed purpose of securing a decided preponderance of Slave States, the propriety of discussing the slavery question can hardly be controverted. Whatever may have influenced the minds of freemen in the non-slave-holding States, to adopt and sustain, for a few years past, the arbitrary pretensions of Slaveholders, that influence must now be called to reflect, most seriously, how much further those pretensions can safety

The proposition of the Slaveholders is, that they must hold an absolute control in the Union, because such control is indispensible to the security of slave property. This is assuming a new basis of Union. and a basis directly contrary to that upon which the Union and the Constitution of the United States

The attention of the reader, who wishes to comprehend the subject aright, is requested to a few

rominent facts

At the formation of the Constitution, the territo rial limits of the Union excluded all that now constitutes the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas and Missouri. At that period, all concurred in the opinion that slavery must be confined to the limits of the States in which it then existed. To make assurance of this, its extension into the vast country that now constitutes the four States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, and all the Wisconsin Territory east of the Mississipp river, was expressly forbidden. The total exti contemplation of every one. It was regarded as tolerated evil, that should be so confined that it could not spread. It was to be protected where it was, but was to be known no where else. These were the terms upon which the Slaveholders themselves proposed to regulate slavery, and it was upon these terms that the compact was formed. Already these terms have been grossly violated, totally de-parted from, in favor of the Slaveholding interest. The purchase of Louisiana broke up the fair grounds upon which the Coustitution was passed, and invigorated anew the virus of slavery in the political body that constituted the Union. This was an ag-gressive extension of slaveholding influence, obtained and se' mitted to, in consequence of the vast importance to the great West, of the uninterrupted

navigation of the river Mississippi, to the Ocean.

I have said that the limitation in territorial extent, and the final abolition of slavery, was the basis of the Constitution. In 1788, the States of Masachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, the then proposed State of Vermont, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Dela ware, had all adopted measures for extinguishing slavery within their limits, by gradul abolition.— Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia had done nothing, except, that, in accedito the proposal from Virginia, that slavery shot be prohibited, in the new States, to be formed the North Western Territory, the States last named, all sanctioned the position of confining the evil to

These facts show, plainly, that the Slaveholders cannot found their present claims of security, upon any thing connected with the formation and adoption of the Constitution.

Subsequent to the purchase of Louisiana, nothing nore was asked for the security of slave property but that a just equality should be preserved, in admitting new States, so that there ame number of slave-holding and non-slave-holding States. Thus, in the case of Missouri, she came up for admission with Maine. Missouri objected to ments, that a law precisely similar in its provisions the slavery restriction, and Maine did not object to to this, is now in existence in the State of Mary- it. Yet it was refused to admit Maine without Mis-

port of Southern rule? Can she dissaver her interests, as they are now united, in business, in feeling, in character, from Philadelphia and New York and Boston, and units with she knows not what, in prospect, at Charleston, Savannah or Richmond It is evident that, if the annexation of Texas once secures Southern control, in the National Councils, deadly feuds must soon be generated between rival cities of the Union. Such is the genius of mility-line measures.

trol her passage through the Mississippi to the

The suggestions here hinted at should now en f, at this moment, they may he treated as mere spece felt as fearful realities. We know not to what men may work themselves up. So far, there has sen a great deal too much acquiescence, in slaveaptions.—The exaction still rises—ex-been converted into extension; extension into equality, and now there is a bold requisi-tion for control. If this swelling tide of demand is not here met and repelled: if it is once more perundaries, its course will be as destructive as when the waters of the great deep are broken up.

Governor of Indiana

In his recent Message, the Governor of Indian:

In compliance with the request of his Excellenby the Governor of Kentucky, I lay before the egislature a communication enclosing a preamble adjoint resolution, of the Legislature of that State, mesting the protection of our Laws against the lment of the slaves of her citizens, when they escape, and as they pass along the Ohio Riv-er, in the possession of their masters.

ion of slavery, the citizens of this State have been exempt from excitement. Ever mindful of the reat family of American States, united under a mon government, and bound together by past ecollections, by an identity of origin and a comunity of general interests, the State of Indian has religiously abstained in her principles and polley from every act that could be construed into a disposition to tamper with, or disregard the domestic institutions of her sister States. By a reference to our laws on the subject, it will be seen that they have been shaped with a view to protect the interests and rights of the citizens of those States where slavery has been established, and to farnish all just facilities for the reclamation of that species of property. By the act of 1824, provison was made for an arrest and hearing, in a most summary manner; our judicial tribunals are ever ready to enforce the law, and a full measure of damages is awarded to the aggrieved individual. Our laws relating to crime and punishment impose a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, on any who shall knowingly employ a slave, conceal him, neourage his escape, give him a certificate of enancipation, or a pass, or who shall obstruct his arrest, when claimed by the owner. The claiman is moreover entitled to his action for damages of five hundred dollars against the offending indi-

With the ample provisions already made, I conces my inability to point out other or more efficient means of redress. It is due, however, to Kentucky, to consider the subject, end to exercise hat sound discretion which the occasion demands. And when you have deliberated, it will be due to that State, to reply in that feeling of amity, kindness and fraternal regard, evinced in the communication submitted to you.

Conduct of the Ohio Delegates. The Ohio Political Register, commenting Mr. Patton's resolution &c., remarks.

We dismiss this subject, with the single remark that our delegation in Congress may rest assured that their vote upon the resolution of Mr. Patton, heir constituents.

will meet the strong and positive approbation of The People of Ohio are not abolitionists-but they are free-men; and when wand that more ragnest shall be raid to their wishes, than the simple reception of their memorial, to be laid upon the table, WITHOUT BEING DEBA-TED, PRINTED, READ, OR REFERRED," or in any lieve that a potition is received until it is con-

Yeas and Nays.

The following are the Yeas and Nays on Mr. Patton's resolution, together with a few comments by the Editor of the Cincinnati Chronicle.

YEAS. " Messrs. Anderson, Andrews, Atherton Beatty, Beirne, Bicknell, Birdsall, Boon, Bouldin, Brodhead, Bruyn, Buchauan, John Calhoon, Cambrelling, Wm. B. Campbell, John Campbell, Timothy J. Carter, Wm. B. Carter, Casey, Chapman, ham, Cilley, Claiborne, Cleveland, Clowney, oles, Craig, Crockett, Cushman, Deberry, De Graff, Dennis, Dromgoole, Edwards, Farrington, Fairfield, Fry, J. Garland, J. Graham, Grantland, Graves, Hammond, Harlan, Harrison, Hawes Hawkins, Haynes, Holsey, Holt, Hopkins, How ard, Hubley, William H. Hunter, J. Jackson, Jos Johnson, Wm. C. Jehnson, J. W. Jones, Kemble William H. Hunter, J. Jackson, Jos Klingensmith, Lawler, Legaré, Logan, Loomis, Lyon, Mallory, James M. Mason, Martin, Maury, May, Mc, Kay, Robert Mc, Clellan, Abraham Mc, an, Mc. Clure, Mc. Kim, Mercer, Miller, Montgomery, Moore, Morgan, S. W. Morris, Mu-hlenberg, Murray, Noble, Palmer, Parker, Patton. Paynter, Pennybacker, Petrikin, Phelps, Pope Pratt, Prentiss, Reily, Rencher, Robertson, A. H. Shepperd, C. Shepard, Shields, Snyder, Southgate eer, Stanly, Stewart, Stone, Taliaferro, Tay Thompson, Titus, Turney, Underwood, Vail agener, Weeks, John White, Phomas T. Whitey, Lewis Williams, Sherrod Williams, Jared Williams, Joseph L. Williams, Christopher

H. Williams, Yell—122.

NAVS—Messrs. Alexander, H. Allen, John W. Allen, Bidwell, Bond, Borden, Briggs, Bronson, Wm. B. Calhoun, Chaney, Coffin, Corwin, Cranston, Curtis, Cushing, Darlington, Davies, Dun-H. Williams, Yell-122. Dunn, Evans, Everett, Ewing, Richard can, Dunn, Evans, Everett, Ewing, Richard Fletcher, Isaac Fletcher, Filmore, Faster, Goode liam Graham, Grennell, Haley, Hall, Hamer, tings, Henry, Herod, Hoffman, Ingham, Kil-, Leadbetter, Lincoln, Marvin, Samson Mason, twell, Me. Kennan, Milligan, Mathias Morris, Galvary Morris, Naylor, Noyes, Ogle, Parmente ntterson, Peck, Phillips, Potts, Porter, Rariden, andelph, Reed, Ridgway, Russell, Sheffer, Shep., Sibley, Slade, Smith, Stratton, Tillinghast bland, Toucey, Webster, Albert S. White, Eli-

Tolland, Toucey, Websel, has Whittlesey, Yorke—74.

It will be remarked, before we proceed further, delegations of Vermont, Massacht. that the entire delegations of Vermont, Massachu setts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Ohio and Indiana, with the exception of Mr. Boon of Indiana, and Mr. Hunter of Ohio, and three or four es, voted in the negative on this question and also in a similar vote taken in the Senate on a motion of Mr. Clay's, to refer the petitions to the committee on the District of Columbia, all the Senators from these States except Mr. Bayard of Delaware, voted in the same way. It will also be remarked, that above a year since, the majority of the Southern delegation in Congress, voted against receiving petitions. They now tote in favor of it. We note these historical facts, that our readers may be kept informed upon the progress of a question, which of all, is the most agitating to the public mind, and seems to admit of the least calm-

casled fiames, which only burst out

Upon this subject there is a very general er The Constitution of the United States was constructed expressly to avoid a dep the States, and it has avoided it in ere a State, or a minority of Steerned. No State, or minority oncerned. No State, or minority of States can revent its operation, even upon their own in lab-

1. In the first place a majority of either of Congress make a quorum, and have full power to compel the attendance of their own members. They could therefore compel the attendance of their own members if they chose; but this would not remedy an evil which originates with the peo-ole at home. We must look, then, to other con-

2. The Constitution, and the laws made in put annee thereof, are binding upon individuals whereever they are, and consequently no secession of a delegation in Congress absolves the people of these States from their obligation to obey the laws of the United States. If they violate them, they will be in the same condition as the people of those States represented—subject to punish portion to the offence.

3. If the delegations of a minority of States re-

tire from Congress, they only give up a privilege in making laws. They do not prevent the majority from going on with the government. A maority makes a quorum-a majority makes lawsand a majority can enforce them.

This view of the subject shews that there can

be no secession or nullification of any kind made by a State which might not have been made by individuals, and which in plain English amount to rebellion. We suppose that no such secession will ever be made; for the men who threaten i now, are those who are most aware of the gloomy consequences to themselves. With Mr. Clay, we should like to see Congress adopt a bill, making it out of order for any member to name disunion. The legal strength of the American Constitution is a greater protection to every member of the Union, than any degree of physical strength can ever

Progress of the Change.

The change wrought in the Senate since the las session, is truly gratifying. The correspondent of the United States Gazette alludes to the proceedings of the 18th inst. as follows:-

"A very remarkable and somewhat excited de bate took place, to-day, in the Senate, on the abo lition topic. The debate was continued more than four hours, and was participated in by the most able men in the Senate. The result was less oratifying that could be wished to an anti-abelitionist, r the vote in favor of laying the subject on the table, stood twenty-five to twenty, instead of thirtyfive to ten, as heretofore. The question arose apon a memorial for the abolition of slavery in the District, by Mr. Wall. Mr. Clay took occasion to make the inquiry of that Senator whether thes petitions were urged for the purpose of expressing the opposition of the petitioners to the mode i such petitions had been treated by Congress, or whether their object was solely what the face of the petitions expressed. Mr. Clay also took occasion to remark that the best way of treating a sub ject which had so deeply agitated the country, was with calmness and reason, and therefore he was in favor of referring all these patitions, and giving them a respectful consideration. Mr. Calhoun, who took his seat this morning, went off like asky rocket.-He denounced the objects of the aboli onists, and declared that this was a subject, and the only one which made him tremble for the Union He strongly urged the propriety of shutting the

doors of Congress to all such petitions.

The motion to refer the memorial was finally laid on the table—Mr. Clay voting in the negative they petition the Congress of the Nation, they de- by a vote of 25 to 20. Many of the southern men already cry out, as I expected they would that Mr. Clay has gone over to the abolitionists, and seeks the aid of that excitement to lift him into the presidency. The presidency is beginning manner whatever, considered. They do not be- to appear a surbordinate matter to some other things. Principles will be more regarded than names in the next contest."

From the Louisville City Gazette.

STRANGE PROCEEDINGS OF A PORTION OF THE SOU-THERN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS .- We had prepared an abstract of the proceedings in the House o Representatives on the 20th, copied from the National Intelligencer of the 21st: but the very comprehensive letter of the correspondent of the Baltimore Patriot, is so much more explicit than any abstract we could make, that we prefer copying it entire. It also contains later intelligence than any we had received—the result of the meet-

ing of the Southern members. We are compelled to limit our editorial remarks. to day, but we cannot allow this subject to pass without expressing our disapprobation of the course of conduct of the Southern members. The citizens of the United States have a right to petition-they have an inalienable right to be neard by petition or remonstrance, let the subject be what it may. And however the Southern mem bers may dislike to hear the evils of slavery ding donged, and know that petition after petition, to make the "ten miles square" a free District is ready to be presented, they must bear it, and it will be a sacrifice of the principles which produced the Revolution and wronght our independence the Revolution and to give way to their immodest demand that all petiions on the subject of slavery, be laid on the table unheard. We trust that the representatives who voted for the abridgement of American liberty, may never again be returned to the National Legislature,

but may receive merited opprobrium.

If Abolitionists and fanatics will press the subject on Congress, let the petitions and memorials be referred to appropriate committees, who will either report upon their impropriety, or suffer them to die a natural death, as many do every session, if they so deserve to die. We must confess that we pre-fer that the seal of disapprobation should be set on such memorials, by way of report. It will go farther to settle the perplexing subject, than th wayward and factious opposition made by the Southern representatives. The whole subject of slavery and emancipation was discussed a very few years since in the Virginia Legislature—we see no great harm it can do the south, or what tendency it has to affect the injury of that portion of the Union, should congress determine that the peti-tions, should be heard, and the subject fully re-

Mr. Adams and Texas. In the debate on the Texas memorials in the

House, pending the motion of Mr. Howard to refer them to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mr. Adams proceeded to say,

"That one great objection to the proposed reference was, that six out of nine upon the committee were slaveholders, and were therefore, not a proper were slaveholders, and were therefore, not a proper, committee for such a reference. They were in interest committed in favor of that against which these memorialists remonstrated. He would say with all respect to the two gentlemen from South Carolina (the most deeply slaveholding State in the Union) who have just taken their seats, that whe or the discussion arise now or hereafter, was

nurder of Lovejoy at Alton.

The Chair here interposed, and remarked that
the gentleman from Massachusetts was straying entleman from Massachusetts was straying from the question of reference, which was

on of the House, to hear him farther upon this to pic, at this time, he would abridge his remarks and hasten to a close. What he had said was intended to enforce the objections which he had stated against the proposed reference of the memorials from sachusetts to the Committe on Foreign affairs, first, that the subject matter of those memorials was not appropriately referable to that committee; and secondly, that that committee was not, in itself, a properly instituted committee for such a reference inasmuch as six out of nine of the members composing it were already committed, by feeling and position, adversely to the object and prayer of the petitioners. He had allowed himself, while urging these objection, to make some remarks upon the spirit manifested in this matter by gentlemen similarly committed, and by those sections of country to which they belong; and thence to argue against the propriety of the reference proposed by the member from Maryland. Nor was this objection, he contended, at all inconsistent with that respec which he entertained toward the gentlemen com posing that committee, in every other point of Mr Adams urged a still farther objection to th

proposed reference, derived from the change which, since the special session of Congress, it had been thought proper to make in the committee on foreign affairs—a change, the contemplation of which im-pressed him still more deeply with the belief that that committee was decidedly adverse to the prayer of these memorialists. Three new members had been placed upon that committee; and, as if to make it still more emphatically a slaveholding committee, a gentleman from Virginia had been taken from the chair of another important committee and placed upon this. For what, he would ask was this alteration made? Whatever the motives, he must say it was, to his mind, an additional rea son why, as one of the representatives of the people of Massachusetts, he should not consent tha their interests, as freemen, should be confided to it Upon that committee, besides the fact that six out f nine were slaveholding members, he observed the same proportion of friends to the administration had been placed. Perhaps not the identica six before alluded to, but yet members ever ready to support the administration in every and any measure, be it what it may—consistent with their sense of duty. Now, said Mr. Adams it may be urged, as indeed, in his section, it had been repeatedly, that the President of the United States was against the annexation of Texas; and that it is a base calumny to say that any prejudice in favor of this measure had existence at the White House! He had seen such things in the public prints, and lately in the official paper in this city.

The Chair reminded the gentlemen from Mas-

sachusetts that he was straying from the subject mmediately under the consideration of the House Mr Adams would come back, and keep as nearly to the subject as he could. This he might be permitted to say, that he and his colleagues had seen, in reading the late message of the Executive, how much was not in that document, as well as how much was in it. History, sir, tells us of the fu-neral of a sister of one of the Roman emperors, which took place at the time when Rome was steeped in slavery, at which the statues of Brutus and Cassius were not seen among the splendid array of statues of friends and relatives, which i was the custom to bear in the funeral processions of the great. And the historian remarks that the absence of these two friends was more noticed by the people who witnessed the display, than the fators of the scene, instead of admiring the magnificence of their tyrants, were thinking only of the absent statues of Brutus and Cassius, the friends and advocates of freedom. Sir, I could not but recall this historic incident as inversely ap-plicable, when I see in the late message of the Executive, so much allusion to the grievances of this government at the hands of Mexico, and literally not a single allusion to our relations with

Mr. Calhoun's Resolutions. Thursday, Dec. 28. Mr. Calhoun's resolutions in reference to Abo ition petitions, came up before the Senate to-day, and gave rise to a very animated discussion, which, trange to say, was wholly confined to Senators from the South, one of whom (his colleague, Mr. Preston) most earnestly opposed the design of the resolutions. After they were read, Mr. Calhoun observed that if no Senator wished to discuss them, ne would move to postpone them till next Wedneslay. Mr. Preston then rose and expressed his firm assurance of the perfect inutility of the resoutions, with the spirit of which, however, he fully oncurred. He acknowledged the truth and jusice of them, as they were entirely his own, but hen they were abstractions, and these he considered as useless, to those who intended to operate ipon the suppression of all agitation upon the subect of Slavery. While further speaking on the bject of the resolutions, Mr. Preston, in very energetic language, dwelt upon the firm determination of the South to devise measures for the security of her interests from aggression, should Congress not shield them. There was also an occasional thrust aimed at Mr. Calhoun himself, as for instance, when recurring to the inutility of reiterating the abstractions, contained in the resotions, which might never be reduced to practice. ne declared that his own experience in that body, and shown him many instances of individuals practically refuting the abstract principles, loudly proclaimed by their own lips.

This remark, which of course I do not pretend

to say was canvassed in the same words used by Mr. Preston, all understood to be levelled at Mr. Calhoun, who in his rejoinder supported his resolution in an ingenious and elaborate manner, throwing in now and then some severe allusions to the Whig party.-There was one observation, which has excited a good deal of notice, and which will, if I mistake not, be touched upon when he subject is brought up again next Wednesday. The remark Fallude to, intimated that this spirit of Abolition had been awakened in some degree by principles opposite to those chetished by the State

Rights party.

Mr. Strange, of North Carolina, was opposed to resolutions in any way referring to Slavery being brought forward before Congress. He thought that the Senate should sit still and do nothing on this subject. After a reply from Mr. Calhoun, the motion to postpone the subject till Wednesday prevailed. On that day we may expect an exciting debate. Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, is said to ing debate. Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, is said to be whetting his weapons, and Webster is anxiously expected by the Northern Senators, as the great expounder of the Constitution in such cases. In fact, I believe Mr. Swift's petition has been postponed, soly on account of Mr. Webster's sickness in Philadelphia.

dature have still before them, in the timore Chroniele thus quotes with approb

A Bill has been introduced into the Legislature of Ohio, by Mr. Foote, of a special committee, subjecting towns and cities to the payment of all damages individuals may sustain by mobs within their precincts.

The Cinemati Gazette, in reference to this Bill destruction of property in a town or city, if every property holder knew that he would have to conproperty holder knew that he would have to con-tribute, according to his means to pay for the prop-erty a mob might destroy. It is very common to charge mob outrages upon violent and uninformed men. But all experience demonstrates that mob violence is set on foot nine times out of ten, by men who keep out of sight, or fancy themselves acting safe from legal responsibility. Lord George Gordons behind the scene.—Make all such sensible that the costs of their left handed mischief may e visited upon their own pockets, and their right ands will be strong to suppress all mob violence -not only strong, but effectual. - Mobs will never e allowed to set houses on fire, where the property onsumed must be paid for, by themselves and by he citizens, who, first if not last, countenance

> Resolutions of Mr. Morris Recently submitted in the Senate.

ed-That in the formation of the Federal Con-Resolved—That in the formation of the Federal Constitution, the states acted in their sovereign capacity; but the adoption of the same was, by the people of the several states, by their agents specially elected for that purpose, and the people of the several states, by their own free and voluntary assent, entered into the compact of union proposed in the constitution, with the view to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity; and that the means of attaining all these important objects are fully provided for in the grants of power contained in the constitution itself. ned in the constitution itself.

Resolved-That the people of the several states, in degating a portion of their power to the Federal Government, which they had formerly exercised by their own le islatures, severally retained the exclusive and sole right over their own domestic institutions, which they had no over their own domestic institutions, which they had not, by the constitution, granted to the Federal Government, and they reserved to individuals, and to the states in their sovereign character, the full liberty of speech and the press, to discuss the domestic institutions of any of the states, whether political, moral, or religious; and that it would be the exercise of unauthorised power on the part of the government, or that of any of the states, to attempt to restrain the same and that any adjector to the sovereign to restrain the same; and that any endeavor to do so would be insulting to the people and the states so interfered with—for each state alone has the power to punish individuals for the abuse of this liberty within their own jurisdiction; and whenever one state shall attempt to make criminal, acts done by citizens in another state, which are lawful in the state ere done, the necessary consequence would be to weaker

the bonds of our Union.

Resolved—That this government was adopted by the people of the several states of this Union as a commo agent, to carry into effect the powers which they had dele-gated by the constitution; and in fulfilment of this high an sacred trust, this government is bound so to exercise its functions as not to interfere with the reserved rights of the states over their own domestic institutions; and it is the duty this government to refrain from any attempt, however remote, to operate on the liberty of speech and the press, as secured to the citizens of each state by the constitution and laws thereof. That the United States are bound to secure to each state a republican form of government, and o protect each of them against invasion or domestic vio-ence, and for no other purpose can Congress interfere with

ne internet policy of a state.

Resolved—That domestic slavery, as it exists in outhern and western states, is a moral and political evil, an hat its existence at the time of the adoption of the const that its existence at the time of the adoption of the consti-tution, is not recognized by that instrument as an essential element in the exercise of its powers over the several states, and no change of feeling on the part of any of the states can justify them or their citizens, in open and systematic attacks on the right of petition, the freedom of speech, or the liberty of the press, with a view to silence either, on any iolations of the mutual and solemn pleage to protect and effect of the effect of faith

cal, moral, and religious.

Resolved—That it is the indisputable right of any state or any citizen thereof, as well as an indispensable duty, to endeavor, by all legal and constitutional means, to abolish whatever is immoral and sinful, and that Congress alone possess the power to abolish slavery, and the slave trade in this district or any of the territories of the United States; and the right of petition, of speech, and of the press, to accomplish this object is not to be questioned, and that an act of Congress on this subject would be within its constitu-

tional powers.

Resolved—That the union of these states rests upon the Resolved—That the union of these states rests upon the virtue and intelligence of the citizens in supporting the constitution of the United States, and not upon any supposed advantages it may afford to any particular state; and that it is the solomn duty of all, more especially this hody, which represents the states in their sovereign character, to resist all attempts to discriminate between the states; and it would be unwise, unjust, and contrary to the constitution, to annex any new territory or state to this confederacy with a view to the advantage of any state, or its peculiar domestic institutions; that such an attempt would be contrary to that equality of rights which one ebject of the constitution was to secure slike to all the states; and if done to favor the slavesecure alike to all the states; and if done to favor the slave-

secure anke to all the states; and il done to have the states and holding states, for the purpose of giving to those states a preponderance in this government, would in effect be to establish slavery in all the states.

Resolved—That to regulate commerce among the seeral states is an express power granted by othe Congress of the United States. That veral states is an express power granted by the constitution to the Congress of the United States. That, in the exercise of this power, congress may rightfully prohibit any article, though made property by the laws of a state, from being used in such commerce, if the same would be detrimental to the general welfare.

Resolved—That congress have possessed the power since the near 1909 to republish the investment of the congress have possessed the power since the near 1909 to republish the investment of the near the congress have possessed the power since the near the congress have possessed the power since the near the congress have possessed the power since the near the congress have possessed the power since the near the congress have possessed the power since the near the congress have possessed the power since the near the ne

Resolved—That congress have possessed the power since the year 1808, to prohibit the importation of persons into any state as articles of commerce or merchandise.

Resolved—That the political condition of the people within the district of Columbia is subject to state regulations; and that congress, in the exercise of its legitimate powers over the district, are bound by the will of their constituents in the same manner as when legislating for the people of the United States generally.

Resolved—That this government was founded, and has

stituents in the same manner as when legislating for the people of the United States generally.

Resolved—That this government was founded, and has been sustained, by the force of public opinion, and that the free and full exercise of that opinion is absolutely necessary for its healthful action; and that any system which will not hear the test of public investigation is at war with its fundamental principles; and that any proceedings on the part of those who administer the Government of the United States, or any of the states, or any citizens thereof, which are intended or calculated to make disreputable the free and full exercise of the thoughts and opinions of any portion of our citizens on any subject connected with the political, moral, or religious institutions of our country, whether expressed by petitions to congress or otherwise, by attaching to the character of such citizens odious or reproachful names and epithets, strikes at the very foundation of all our civil institutions, as well as our personal safety, poisons the very fountains of public justice, and excites mobs and other unlawful assemblies to deeds of violence and blood—That our only safety is in tolerating error of opinion; while reason is left free to combat it.

Proper Spirit.

The following is an extract from an editorial in the Na nal Gazette, Philadelphia:

After the reading of the journal, Mr. Patton, on the parties of the Southern members, offered the following resolutions of the Southern members, offered the following resolution Resolved—That all the memorials, petitions, or pap relative to slavery, or to the buying selling or transfer slaves, in any district, state, or territory, shall with debate, reading, printing, or reference, be laid on the tal and that no further action be had thereou.

And this resolution without debate (the previous qualiton being called for by the mover) was passed—yeas 1

position be submitted to. Heretofore, or rather till las inter, when a similar, though certainly less rigorous striction was imposed, we in the north thought we could

any destrict, state, or territory of this chick, ment be silenced, for the petition must be neither "read, not pated, nor printed, nor referred," And when hereafte authority of the conclave of a seceding minority shall cemented, the Index Expurgatorius will be enlarged. the faithful Commons. This is no imaginative sketch; but the sober, melancholy truth—truth the sad effects of which are not yet dreamed of. Our only hope is, that while the are not yet dreamed of. Our only hope is, that while the spectres of the various saacrifices heretofore made to the south—the tariff, the national bank, internal improvements, (all of which the south might have saved and most of which she has destroyed) have failed to awaken the alumbering spirit of the north, that this last denial of her constitutional right of petition on any and every subject may arouse her to calm but resolute determination to do the duty which she owes to herself and her free institutions.

Mr. Clay never said a truer word, than when he attributed the progress of polition at the north text is in

buted the progress of abolition at the north to the intemperate zeal and language of the south. And unless we are false prophets indeed, it will be found from this time for ward, until the resolution of prohibition be rescinded, the will be in the northern states a solemn league and covenant, that shall bind men of all parties and all opinions in one indissoluble array against that heresy, which denies or restricts the right of the people to petition their temporary

Correspondence of the Baltimore Com. Transcript. WASHINGTON, Dec, 26, 1837.

This has been a day of great interest in both houses of Con ress. The festivities of Christmas seem to have in no wise the ardour and discipline of either branch of th National Legislature. An immense crowd thronged the Senate galleries at an early hour this morning, to-day being set apart for the renewal of the debate upon the Abolition petition, presented a few days since by Mr. Swift of Vermont the people were doomed to disappointment on this point, by that Senator announcing, that owing to the wishes of several of his fellow members, he had determined to postpone his intention of bringing the subject again before the Senate Phe time when he would present the petition was no

COMMUNICATIONS.

A Voice from Indiana. LIBERTY, Union Co., Ia., Dec. 16th, 1837.

BIEND BAILEY: Lest our silence be construed into a tacit acquiescence the scenes that are being acted in different parts of our ommon country, it becomes our duty to speak intelligibly

to the world our utter detestation of the principles, upon which a certain portion of our fellow-countrymen are acting n order to acquit ourselves before our country and our God allude to the frequent recurrence of mob-law and brutal olence to accomplish that, which cannot be accomplished by lawful and peaceful means.

The recent transactions at Alton, Illinois, have arouse general feeling of indignation and abhorrence in our nds, which will never be wholly erased, until the actors of it shall meet that punishment at the bar of justice, which their deeds so richly merit, or until their names shall have een doomed by the verdict of public opinion to eternal inamy and disgrace.

Indeed, who can feel otherwise that has any interest in the prosperity and welfare of our country, when the laws enacted to cement the elements of civil society and secure personal safety and happiness, are trampled upon and lie rostrate at the feet of a licentious and reckless mob-when ociety is dissolved into its elementary principles, and the scattered fragments of a broken Constitution are carried pon the wings of the wind?

Such appears to be the case in a portion of our beloved ountry. But if "the blood of the martyr is the seed of the urch," surely the blood of one who was struggling against the overwhelming tide of oppression and the subversion of stitutional freedom, must be the seed of genuine liberty.

An intelligent citizen said, after reading on account of the murder of Lovejoy, that the shedding of his blood would make more abolitionists than he possibly could have made rty years' lecturing; and this is one of the many instances in the anti-slavery struggle, in which our enemies respons are so wielded as to promote the advancement of our cause.

When a cause becomes so desperate as to shrink from the light of free discussion, to require the support of arbitrary power, the suppression of the freedom of the press and of debate, we may rest assured that one of two results will inevitably follow,-either that cause will meet with a final overthrow, or it will triumph, and that only by the overthrow of liberty, and the establishment of despotism. That this is the case with regard to slavery, no one can doubt who is an observer of the signs of the times.

Despairing of prolonging its existence in the face of fre iscussion, it seeks by mobs and gag-laws to terrify the friends of universal freedom into silence. It would fain skulk behind the curtain and shut out that light which in the sphere of woman, be it narrowed down to ever so would disclose its deformities, hold it up to the seem and small a compass, that these hints will not be altogether lost rision of all christendom, and cause it to blush at the ight of its own accursed features,

Abolitionists, then, have not only to wage war against slavery in the abstract;" they have not only to plead for he restoration of the rights of the down trodden slave, but in conjunction with that, they have to maintain and defend their own rights. They must either persevere until the liberty of the slave is restored to him; until the principles of the Declaration of Independence are universally acknowledged in practice as well as theory; or they must succumb to the power of the petty tyrant, surrender their dearest rights, shrink from the performance of their manifest duty and tamely exasent to become slaves themselves. Will they his mandates are in direct opposition to the laws of God! Shall we not plead the cause of the oppressed and open our mouths for the dumb? Or shall we bow the knee to the god of slavery and shnt our mouths forever, or speak only s the slave-holder shall dictate? It cannot be! In the annals of civilization such an event would be, under existing ircumstances, an anomaly!

The enslavement of the mind is only surpassed by tha of the mind and body, and he who can consent to be men of the mind and body, and he who can consent to be mentally enslaved, to surrender the right of liberty of speech and the press, to gratify the avarise and ambition of the slave-holder, at the expense of "life, liberty, and happiness," of millions of his fellow beings, is a fit subject for the government of a Russian Autocrat, rather than a worthy inheritor of the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

The anti-slavery cause is surely gaining ground in this country. Nothing in my opinion is lacking but information.

untry. Nothing in my opinion is lacking but information on the subject. There never has, to my knowledge, bee more than one anti-slavery lesture delivered in the county, and that was in Friends' meeting house, and was attended by but few, besides their members. Friends are almost to a mar favorable to our cause, but think that they belong to one about tilion society and that that is sufficient. They support our periodicals however, and arrangements have been made by them for disseminating our principes by the circulation of different anti-slavery publications through the country.

This is as it abould be; and doubtless it will have its proper

This is as it should be; and doubtless it will have to proper effect. I think the time is not far distant, when a county society will be organized. Such an event would be gratify-ing to the best feelings of some of us. Of such an event, you shall be duly apprised, should it occur. And why should it not! Why should Indiana he so far behind her should it not! Why should indiana he so, far beauth and sister states! Whilst Chio, Michigan and Illinois are a garing nobly in the cause of humanity and human rights Indiana is hardly known in the annals of abolitionism. Be mured, it is not because her sons are less philanthi or of her wister states. Within the confines of he om is a rich store of genuine feeling, a deep rooted abha ence of elavery, which will ere long, I trant, display two in actions not to be misunderstood or overaw lack is, a few fearless, active and efficient men to

the work—to enlighten the public mind.
Yours, in "in the bonds of abolition

The Women of '87.

Sir,-Having recently, in one of our political papers, come oss the following extract (from the 2nd volume of Caev's American Museum, in 1787,) which serves to develop newhat of the character of the maids and matrons of R ntionary times, it has occurred to me, that it might not out of place at the present crisis, if transferred to the co triotic and Economical Association of the Ladies of

Hartford, in Connecticut. "The Lating of the city of Hartford, taking into second consideration the unhappy situation of our country and being fully sensites that any collection of our country that our calamities are in a grea seasure, occasioned by the exury and extravagance of in

all unnecessary, expenses that while the configure are devising other and more extensive plans of policy for the sale ation of this, and the United States, the ladles may unite their influence in effecting the same desirable purpose, by a strict attention to domestic economy and frugality. Those ladies, who used to excel in dress, it is hoped, will endeavor to set the best example, by laying aside their richest silks and superfluous decorations; and as much as possible, disand superfluors decorations; and as much as possible, dis-tinguish themselves by their perfect indifference to those or-naments and superfluites, which, in happier times might become them. Hoping for the concurrence of the ladies in every part of the State, and confident of the anni probation of every gentleman of patriotism, they have so

scribed the following articl "lat. That from the clate hereof to the 25th of June next. hey will not purchase any gause, ribbons, lace, feathers, eaver hats, silks, muslins or chintzes, except for weddings mourning.

mourning. "2nd. They will dress their persons in the plainest n ner, and encourage industry, frugality and neatness, giving all due perference to the manufactures of their own "3d. That when they receive visits, and make entertain

nents, it will be their study to avoid unnecessary expense, especially in foreign articles. "4th. During the above term, as they will have opportunity to observe the operation of their plan, they will turn their attention to a more systematic and extensive method

of economy, suited to the circumstances of their country;

and continue the same by agreement, to greater length of "Hartford, Nov. 6th. 1786."

The above Association was signed by more than one hunred ladies of the first families in the city, and a majority of other cities.

From the above extract it appears, that voluntary associtions among females for the promotion of their country's weal, are not an anomaly of modern times. Our grandmothers felt the force of the sentiment that, "Union is strength," and that by combined offices, they should be the better enabled to act efficiently and resist counteracting influences. They saw too, how the public Treasury might be sustained by retrenchments at home, and were willing to forego for a ime, the luxuries and elegancies of life, that their husbands and fathers might not be embarrassed in consequence of the sacrifices to which they were called. Such were the women, who fed the fires of Freedom at the hearth-stone, while the foundations of our political edifice were being laid. Would that their mantle might rest on us their degenerate daughters, in this day of contested rights, when the pillars of our noble superstructure, erected at such vast expense, are well nigh crumbling in ruins. I trust there is still much latent patriotism in the bosoms of our country women, which requires only a needs be, to bring it out. The wives and daughters of abolitionists especially, are called upon to be careful how they hold back the great cause of human freedom, by nsisting on those indulgencies in dress, and style of living, which must greatly diminish the pecuniary henefactions of their husbands and fathers. A commenced, and as this Western valley sooms likely to be the arena of conflict and bloodshed, I should be glad to see our Ohio sisters taking the lead in such sacrifices and retrenchments, as the exigencies of the times may demand. True, the circumstances of our country are widely different from what they were in the ust struggling into being, without money and without credit. Our resources are ample. But we must bear in mind that wealth and power are on the side of the oppressor. The noble band who are struggling for the advancement of human freedom, and to maintain supremacy of law, are comparatively few in number. They have no Treasury to draw upon, but rely solely on individual efforts for support. "Donestic economy and frugality," therefore, would seem to be eculiarly necessary, in order that their operations may not e hampered for the want of sufficient means to prosecute them with rigor. The anti-slavery press in this, and other states must be maintained; or the hopes of the American people will go out in darkness. It is hoped, therefore, as the course suggested is purely a home effort, and fairly with-

> ONE OF THEIR NUMBER. -- Yewo town Dialogue.

upon the female abolitionists of Onto.

Jane .- Mother, why was it right for the master of the ineyard to give as much to those who had worked only one ur, as to those who had worked all day!

Mrs. Este .- Because those that went into the vineyard at the eleventh hour would have been glad to have gone in early in the morning, if they had had an opportunity. It is as if the poor slaves should have their fetters now broken, and should immediately begin to obey God by training their children up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. do this! Will they be so recreant to their principles, so They would immediately begin to build school houses and nifestly deficient in their conduct as to oley man, when churches and hire teachers and pastors, and then as their hearts expanded with love and their means increased, they would pay money into Bible societies, and tract societies

and missionary societies.

Jane.—Yes, Mother, now I, understand; when you say, is if," that makes me understand. I wish the slaves were ree from this minute, and no little babies could be enslaved ny more.

Mrs. Este. - I wish they were and has stime June .- Mother, I think the people of New England are e laborers who went into the vineyard early in the morn-

Mrs. Este. - The people of New England have long been aboring in the cause of Christ," Jane .- I wonder, Mother, if they would murmur if God hould make the colored people equal to them.

Mrs. Este.-I hope not. Jane.—I think, Mother, the poor slaves would be very glad if they could labor in the cause of the Lord Jesus

be more acceptable to the master of the vineyard, than the labors of those who seem to begin to tire, the day is a long. Jane .- Mother, is it not very wicked to enslave little ba-

Mrs. Este.-It is very wicked to enslave any body. Jane .- Mother, enslaved Americans are withheld by the rong arm of power from contributing to benevolent institions, and from adubating their children, so if the laborers that were sent into the vineyard at the eleventh how were not blamed, I am sure they are not to be blamed,

Mrs. Estc .- They are not to be blamed for what they ave not the power to do, but those who deprive them of the power to obey God, incur a tronsendous responsibility. Robbing God of the obedience due to him from men, is not only robbery committed against God by enslaving men. God says, "all souls are mine," and until man appears before the throne of the Eternal, and with the Creator of men, agrees apon the price and pays the purchase money for his fel low man, holding him as property will continue to be clear robbery, and not only robbery, but robbery committed against to be clear od, as well as against man, "Will a man rob God."

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI: Tuesday Morning, January 9, 1838.

Oos saw Dassa, turns out a very shabby one. We makey we are mortified, but we trust, only for one. The paper we had engaged, not arriving in time, we week. The paper we had engaged, not are the paper we had engaged the paper ugly sheet. You see, it is too short at both ends, and every way, and gives our new type a most clumsy into to your notice; but wait patiently one week, and the Phi-anthropist shall make its appearance quite as good-looking Divers other improvements, we are compelled to Asfor till our next.

Dr. Channing's Letter. Que readers will judge of this letter for the far as his remarks concern the conduct of abolitionists, under persecution, we entirely accord with him. We believe as should all be seace-men, precisely on the grounds statts on the peace-question. We should have born such a testimony as he thinks abolitionists ought universally bear, long before this, if peculiar local circumstances had

not, in our opinion, rendered it improper. As to the remaining parts of the letter, with some we agree, but with others disagree, His opinions, we perceive, with regard to the conduct of our enterprise, remain unchanged; and our own opinions, have been too frequently expressed, to need reiteration. More we would say, but we

TWe would call the attention of our readers to an excellent article, on our first page, entitled, "SLAVERY and Texas." It is from the pen of the Editor of the Cincinnati Gazette-a gentleman who will hardly be suspected of fa-

Our paper this week is delayed a little beyond the time, on account of our new arrangements. We have several correspondents in waiting.

them from time to time, as we can. Mr. Chase's argument we intended to insert

number, but are compelled still to postpone it. Texas.

Senator Preston on the 4th of January, introduced into the Senate a resolution for the annexation of Texas.

John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay. John C. Calhoun speaks truth. He is, clearly, well-ac quainted with the people of the North. He says truly, that bolitionism is inherent in their soil, in their institutions, in their very being. As surely as the sun will rise to-morrow so surely shall his prophecy be fulfilled,—that the day is not far distant when abolitionism will reign supreme in the free states. We entirely agree with him when he declares, that to open the door of petition, is to yield all; that the only way to prevent our success is to meet us at the thresho d and deav us entrance. This is the only way, but Mr. Calhoun has strangely misapprehended human nature, if he suppose it will be an effective way. To make this act of summary despotism decisive, he would have to force the freemen of the North to acquiesce meekly in a perpetual rule, that they should never exercise any natural or constitutional right, in such a way as, in the opinion of John C. Calhoun, might endanger the reputation or stability of slavery. Is he equal to this task? Is he vain enough to hope that he can thus lay an iron hand on the populous North, and crush the free spirits of her sons? A Persian tyrant once thought to chain the Hellespont, a much easier task than that of him, who would bind the restless energies of

As to the soothing measures of Henry Clay,-they will be equally unavailing. By all means let them be pursued, for they are demanded by the Constitution and the fundamental principles on which it is based. But to receive refer, and consider petitions, with a hope of quelling excitement, is visionary. We were astonished to notice in the report of proceedings in the Senate, how much stress was laid on this thing. Gentlemen from the free states were enthroughout the states, to the violation of the right of peti- bound to do. of feeling, but the chief source of the excitement is, a neverfailing hostility to slavery. So long as this exists, no oil can calm the troubled waters. Now, we are animated by hatred of slavery and indignation at aggression on our rights. Refer and consider our petitions, and we shall be impelled by hatred of slavery and the hope of success. "Hope springs eternal in the human breast." Hope will supply the place of indignation, and under its influence, our prayers and appeals shall increase in number and power.

It is perfectly idle to talk of arresting the progress of ablition. The great battle between Slavery and Freedom must be fought. It is now in progress, and slave-holders would not, if we would, agree to a suspension of hostilities. Peace only can be restored by the destruction of Slavory or sense doubt, on which side the nonslave-holding states will array themselves? Do what you will, abolition must increase. It can neither be overcome by resistance nor indulgence. Every impartial and competent observer, who has watched its operations and advancement, knows that it is rapidly pervading all classes in the community, and will continue to do so, until the whole North be throughly imbued with its spirit,

Slave-holders have announced their intention: Texas me be admitted. What say the free states? Several of the nor thern legislatures have passed resolutions, protesting against this slaveholding project. Will not Ohio speak out? Ohio is sound on this subject. The voice of her Legislatur would be effective. The truth is, there is too much reason to believe, that slave-holders will sucreed. The following resolution has been proposed in the Legislature of Tennes

"Resolved, by the General Assembly of Tennessee, Resolved, on the General Assembly of Pennessee, in Maskeille sitting. That we desire most anxiously, that Texas be acquired by the U. States; and resolved that our Senators and Representatives be informed of our desire to acquire the territory of Texas; and to annex it to the United States by treaty or otherwise, and at such time as they may deep not exceeding."

Pennsylvania Legislature.

The following important Preamble and Resolutions were introduced in the Pennsylvania Legislature, on the 20th inst. by J. R. Tysou.—They were read and laid on the

Table.

WHEREAS, The government of Texas has made a formal application to the United States for admission into this Union, and a disposition has been evinced by a large portion of the people and several States of the South to impel Congress into a precipitate compliance therewith, and as an extension of our territory, however justly acquired, but mor especially in that quarter, and under existing circumstances would be unnecessary and names in the complete that the complete th would be unnecessary and unwise, if not unconstitutional:
And whereas, we of the utmost importance to the republic,
not to say indispensable to its honor and prosperity, that a
peaceful and courteous unaccourse, having for its basis mutual benefit and good faith, should be adulously fostered between it and neighboring pations. tween it and neighboring nations; and where monished by the present condition of Canada of a portion of the Southern and South west tion of the Southern and South western population, antent of various Indian tribes within our borders anded pride and the tenacity of Mexico, that a false step in our foreign relations may involve our country in combined Indian, foreign, and servile war.—Therefore, "Resolved, By the Senste and House of Representative Resolved, By the Senste and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, That the admission of Texas into this Union would be a usuonal calamity.

Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instruct and our Representrives requested, to oppose any and every measure having for its object either the immediate or ultimate admission of Texas into this Union, or the acquisition of its territory by the United States.

"Reserved, That the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions to the Presentatives in Congress, and to each of the Governors of the saveral States."

Will not some of our representatives introduce the subject in our Legislature!-En. Part.

"Resolutions of Mr. Calhous."

"Resolved, That in the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the States adopting the same acted severally, as free, independent, and severaign States; and that each, for itself, by its own voluntary assent, entered the Union with a view to its increased security against dangers, domestic as well as foreign, and the more perfect; and accure enjoyment of its advantages, natural, political and social."

Mr. Calhoun laye dawn in this resolution the basis, the contains of pullification. His theorems the

principle of millification. His theory of the objects of the principle of millification, is imperfect and unsound. The only ands, proposed by each state, in adopting the Constitution, were, according, to his theory, purely selfish, Each state entered the Union with a view to its increased security gainst all dangers, domestic as well as foreign, and the mo perfect and secure copyment of its advantages, natural, po-lical and social. " This is a nullifier's view of the Constitution. That broad patriotism, which encompasses in its regards all the states of this Union, which recognizes the neautiful, the glorious idea, "my country," not in one, or few, but in the whole of these states, never once kindled in the heart of this modern statesman. Let us see what "we he people" thought at the time of forming a "more perfect

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tran-quility, provide for the common defence, promote the general velfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Here is true patriotism,—the people of each state pledgir selves solemnly, FIRST OF ALL, to regard the welfare of e people of every other state, feeling the full force of the rand truth, that in the good of the whole, their own good was secured. There is nothing said about the promotion of its advantages, its security against danger, the stability of its nstitutions. There were few Calhouns in the patriotic conventions of those days. Hear Judge Wilson, a member of the Federal Convention of '87, and a member of the Convention of Pennsylvania, assembled for ratifying the proposed Convention. "In forming this system, it was proper to give minute attention to the interest of all the parts, but there was a duty of still higher importance,-To FERL AND SHOW A PREDOMINATING REGARD TO THE SUPERIOR EXTERESTS OF THE WHOLE. If this great principle had not prevailed, the plan before us would never have made its appearance. The same principle that was so necessary in forming it, is equally necessary in our deliberations, whether we should reject or ratify it," And we may add, the same principle is necessary in all our attempts to explain and

And again: "I make these observations to prove and illustrate this great and important truth-that in our decisions on the work the late convention, we should not limit our views and egards to the State of Pennsylvania."-Such was the pirit with which the Federal Constitution was formed and dopted. Compare the generous exhibitions of this spirit with the petty, illiheral views of Mr. Calhoun .- "Each state intered into the Union for the more perfect and secure enure enjoyment of its advantages, natural, political and so cial"-and this was all, the only reason! Such is the spirit

"Resolved, That in delegating a portion of their powers be exercised by the Federal Government, the States retained, severally, the exclusive and sole right over their own domestic institutions and police, and are alone responsible for them, and that any intermeddling of any one or more States, or a combination of their citizens, with the domes tic institutions and police of the others, on any ground, o under any pretext whatever, political, moral, or religious. with the view to their alteration or subversion, is an assump-tion of superiority not warranted by the Constitution; in-sulting to the States interfered with, tending to endanger their domestic peace and tranquility, subversive of the objects for which the Constitution was formed, and, by necessity sary consequence, tending to weaken and destroy the Un-

ion itself.

Resulved, That this Government was instituted and adopt ed by the several States of this Union as a common agen in order to carry into effect the powers which they had de egated by the Constitution for their motival security and prosperity, and that, in fulfilment of this high and sacred trust, this Government is bound so to exercise its power as to give, as far as may be practicable, increased stability and security to the domestic institutions of the pose the Union: and that it is the solemn duty of the Go ernment to resist all atempts by one portion of the Uni to use it as an instrument to attack the domestic institutions of another, or to weaken or destroy such institutions, intirely mistaken in attributing so much of the excitement stead of strengthening and upholding them, as it is in duty

ern and Western States of this Union, composes an impor-tant part of their domestic institutions, inherited from their ancestors and existing at the adoption of the Constitution, by which it is recognized as constituting an essential eleent in the distribution of its powers among the States; and that no change of opinion, or feeling, on the part of the other States of the Union in relation to it, can justify them other states of the Colon in remaind but, can justify them or their citizens in open and systematic attacks thereon, with the view to its overthrow; and that all such attacks are in manifest violation of the mutual and solemn pledge protect and defend each other, given by the States, res ectively, on entering into the Constitutional compact which formed the Union, and as such a manifest breach of faith, and a violation of the most solemn obligations, noral and religious,"

The first clause of the foregoing resolution affirms that which is manifestly false. It affirms that the Constitution "in the distribution of its powers among the States," "recognized" slavery "as constituting an essential element." was not recognized as an essential element; on the contrary t was regarded as an element, unessential, adventitious and temporary. When the Constitution was formed, slavery was a universally acknowledged evil, tolerated on the plea of necessity, never vindicated on the ground of right, A reference to the records and history of that period will show, that the people of the States generally looked forward to the extinction of the evil, and never once thought it was an essential element in the distribution of the powers of the Constitution, Mr. Cathoun has not the shadow of a proof to offer in behalf of his assertion. The very language in which the section of the Constitution, appoi tioning representatives and direct taxes among the States, is ouched, proves positively that slavery was not regarded as an "essential element." For slavery might be abolished this hour, and yet no change or amendment be necessary in this section. In truth it was expected at the time of framing it, that slavery would sooner or later cease to exist, so hat such a construction was given to the provision, as would be no constitutional landrance to its abolition, and would require no change, if this event should take place.

We need only refer to the provision. In Article 1st, sec tion If, 3d clause, it is provided, that representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, which may be included within this Union, according to their espective numbers; which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not

taxed, three fifthe of all other persons." The doctrines maintained in the latter part of this same olution, as well as in the resolutions preceding it, are equally invalid, and indicate either a singular ignorance of the circumstances and feelings attending the formation of our Constitution, or a cool determination to induce Congres to establish a standard of construction, disallowed by historical truth. The doctrines are, that Congress "is bound to use its powers as far as may be practicable," to uphold and strengthen slavery in the States; and that all efforts, by the free states to accomplish the overthrow of slavery, are in manifest violation of the mutual and solemn pledge to pro tect and defend each other, given by the States respectively on entering into the constitutional compact," ha manifest breach of faith, and a violation of the most solemn obli gations, moral, and religious." Now let it be understood, Mr. Calhoun does not venture the declaration that our efforts are violative of the letter or spirit of the Conbut of certain mutual and solemn pledges, &c. Such pledges ware never made in relation to slavery. If they re, let them he pointed out. Not a single record has come down to us, which can at all sustain this secretion. On the contrary, we have documents, whose import plain! contradicts it. It will certainly be admitted, that the clean elvery entered into the constitutional compact, would know

or given at And it will also be isdmitted, that if such pledges had been made, it is altogether improbable that any of the particle framers of the Constitution, would pursue such a second of conduct, immediately after its adoption, as should subject them to the charge of violating these pledges, and the free and the slave-states are opposed. Fr committing a breach of faith. Be it reme that the Hon. John Jay, a member of the New York Con vention for ratifying the Constitution, whose knowledge of he Constitution and its history no one will dispute; and Benjamin Franklin, a member of the Federal Convention Benjamin Franklin, a member of the Pederal Convention of '87, were both engaged earnestly in efforts, precisely iden-tical with those which Mr. Calhoun now denounces, as "a manifest breach of faith," violating solemn and mutual pledges. John Jay was President of a Society organized for promoting the manumission of slaves. Dr. Franklin was President of a Society, formed in Philadelphia, "for pro-moting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free Negroes unlawfully held in hondage, and the improvement of the ondition of the African race." We quote the following, with the land without the same of The way

"According to Stuber's account, Dr. Franklin's name, a resident of the Abolition Society, was signed to the presented to the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 12th of February, 1789, praying them to exert the full extent of power vested in them by the constitution, in discouraging the traffic of the human species.—This was his last public act.—Memoirs by Wm. Temple To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United

States: From a persuasion that equal liberty was originally the From a persuasion that equal liberty was originally the portion, and is suit the birthright of all men, and influenced by the strong ties of humanity, and the principles of their institutions, your memorialists conceive themselves bound to use all justifiable endeavors to loosen the bands of slavery, and promote a general enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. Under these impressions, they carnestly entreat your serious attention to the subject of slavery; that you will be pleased to convict the preserving of liberty to those

pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unbappy men, who alone in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who amidst the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in service subjection—that you will devise means for removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people that you will promote mercy and justice toward this distressed race—and that you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow men."

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, President.

Philadelphia. Feb. 3, 1790. [Federal Gazette, 1790.]

Here we behold a cool-headed philosopher, and one of the most distinguished framers of the present Constitution, three years after its formation, petitioning Congress to "devise heans for removing this inconsistency (slavery) from the character of the American people." Did Dr. Franklin imagine that he was violating any "mutual" and solemn pledge that he was guilty in this thing of "a manifest breach of faith!" The fact itself, taken in connection with the character of the man, proves that slavery was considered at that time a kind of outlaw—that in truth it had no immunities. We might multiply proofs of this kind, but we have no

Congress to abolish slavery in the District or Territories and to exclude any new state or territory (Texas) because it is slave-holding, are equally attacks on the institutions of the slaveholding states, and contrary to equality of rights among the states. They are so glaringly absurd, that we submit them without a single remark, to our readers. "Resolved, That the intermeddling of any State or State their citizens, to abolish slavery in this District, or any or the Territories, to abous slavery in this District, or any
of the Territories, on the ground, or under the pretext, that
it is immoral or sinful; or the passage of any act or messure of Congress, with that view, would be a direct and
dangerous attack on the institutions of all the slaveholding

"Resolved, That the union of these States rests on equality of rights and advantages among its members; and that whatever destroys that equality, tends to destroy the Union itself; and that it is the solemn duty of all, and more especially of this body, which represents the States in their corporate capacity, to resist all attempts to discriminate be-tween the States in extending the benefits of the Governtween the States in extending are believed of the Lynon and that to refuse to extend to the Southern and Western States any advantage which would tend to strengthen, or render them more secure, or increase their limits or population by the annexation of new territory or States, on the assumption or under them, is immoral or sinful, or otherwise obnoxious, would be contrary to that equality of rights and advantages which the Constitution was intended to secure alike to all the members of the Union; and would, in effect, disfranchise the slaveholding States, withholding from them the advantages, while it subjected them to the burthans of the Govern-

The resolutions of Mr. Calhoun were presented in the Senate, December 27. They were up for discussion on the succeeding day, as will be seen in another column. Mr Morris's counter resolutions are also published in another

John C. Cathoun, Till

The position occupied by John C. Calhoun at the presen ime, is by no means an enviable one. He stands before the American people as an enemy to that Union, which is at once their glory and their strength. The proofs of this are now so clear, as hardly to admit of a doubt, that, if his power could compass it, this day would be marked by the lution of the bonds which join these states together,unless, indeed, he entertains a lingering hope of yet oocupying the highest seat in the nation, and with the mo

tives that have led him to adopt his present course. That he is an "ambitious" mon, we know, but this alone is in sufficient to explain conduct so reckless and so unpatriotic Mere ambition hever made him a nullifier-never create within him that hostility to the Union he now betrays; for its highest object might have been gained most probably, i he had only given evidence of that deep regard for the welfare of the whole country, which the people of the United States demand, as the test of true patriotism and the passport to their favor. He has manifested no such patriotisme always was a Southern man, in the strongest sense that phrase. Doubtless, disappointed ambition rankles in is heart, makes him restless, reckless, inimical to that portion of the Union which, on account of his peculiar senti ments, will forever exclude him from the highest place in the nation, and may impel him the more anxiously to look forward to dismemberment of the government—the formation of a slaveholding canfederacy its extension by the nnexation of Texas-and to himself sitting supreme over the whole. But the groundwork of his peculiar sectional feelings was laid long before, Ambition did not create, Ithough it may enhance thom, where here

Mr. Calhoun is characterized at once by strong prejudic and profound philosophy. His prejudice is discovered in attributing evils political and social, which are the result of the slave-system, to the unequal and unjust operations of the general government. He looks abroad over the free states, and beholds their thronging population, their enterprize, industry, commerce, manufactures, wealth, power, and happiness. He turns his eye to the South, and the es of its slow progress, comparative poverty, lack of nterprise, weakness, and insecurity, at once umble him. Blind to the true source of the difference envious at the prosperity of the north, he becomes unjust ind attributes to her preponderating influence in the naman He will believe nothing seless than that the good erishes the stave, while it enriches the free ourse fraternal regard for the North comes, sectional considerations displace patriotism, and the Union is viewed an instrument of oppression rather than of impartial protection and benefit.

An inveterate prejudice, then, by leading Mr. Calhoui to attribute Northern prosperity to an inequitable operation of the Federal Government, is one of the reasons we would assign for his attenuous offices to weaken the mutual at-

Battiho philosophy of Mr. Calhona operator still que strongly improducing this result. However clearly that the a radical difference between the domestic the two portions of the Union. It has been truly said, that mething about such pledges, if there were any demanded sother circumstances beside its form or construction.

the free and the slave-states are opposed. Free labor tends to perpetuate suitable notions of the worth and dignity of human maters, to suitain a proper appreciation of satural rights, to produce equality in condition and likewise in character, to units all classes, from the highest to the lowest, in the bonds of a common feeling and interest. Slavelabor has and must have precisely epposite effects. These two species of labor are mutual antagonists. They tend to dishonor and degrade each other. Wherever the free-labor system prevails, there a principle is recognized, which de-coredly condemns as disgraceful, inexpedient, and danger-ous, the whole system of slave-labor. And wherever the latter exists, there the tendency is to make free labor con-temptible. Mr. Calboun sees all this with the eye of a sopher, and knows, that if there were no other causes to bring on collisions, the simple existence of two system so utterly discordant, under one government, will always be ufficient to occasion them. That slavery is an essenti dement of Southern society, and Southern wealth, is a no ion imbedded in his very constitution; and on this point he has his full share of that infatuation and morbid sensibility which distinguish slaveholding statesmen. He despis the Northern system of labor and Northern laborers, and detects influences continually emanating from the former which must render insecure the tenure of slave property. And the same with regard to the condition of property. Phe natural tendency of things in the North is, to "sub-livision of property, and consequent equalization of condi-

ion." In the South, the tendency is the other way-The C, is a small boat which has heretofore run between this city and Chippeway; and left there yesterday morning these statements briefly, to show how well calculated they are to create a striking, difference of character, interest, and feeling between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding states.

Mr. Calhoun, doubtless, realizes the full force of all this, and it is no wonder, therefore, that determined as he is to immortalize slavery, he should long since have lost his attachment to a Union which binds together so closely, elethe accumulation of property in the hands of the few, and a ments so discordant and mutually destructive as the free and slave-labor principles,

Then comes the anti-slavery discussion-a discussi cessary to counteract the always aggressive and injuriou influences of slavery. This discussion so indispensible to li-berty, is death to slavery. Should we be surprised, then, that in a mind, harrassed by disappointed ambition, painfully alive to superiority of Northern power, inveterately possessed with the idea that the South is wronged by the action of the general Government, fully aware of the natural, irremediable hostility between the peculiar domestic institutions the North and South, this discussion should awaken the most intense concern and anger? And yet, with a degree of madness, of which only a great mind when misled is capable, this gentleman has resolved to bring up the whole uestion of slavery for discussion, apparently with the hope that Congress may be induced at once and forever, by one hold act, to suppress every movement of every kind on this subject! This is his apparent object, and, if it be his true one, then, indeed, does the term madness apply with perfeet appropriateness to his conduct. But, we confess, we leeply suspect him. Can be dream that Congress will ever be induced to venture on so outrageous an act of usurpation? It cannot be. He must have ulterior designs he must be looking to prsy view. Aware, it may be, that Congress will reject his resolutions, he thinks he will be able to avail himself of the consequent excitement among the Southern members to promote secession. And if his resolutions should fail of their object, why, then, his next move will be Texas. If admitted, his object will be gained. Freedom,

free labor, and the free states, will be degraded, -slavery slave labor, and the slave states, will be exalted; and their's, oo, will be the power, -so he thinks. If rejected, the more hope of secession—the more hope that, in a paroxysm of resentment and a blind devotion to local interest, the South may be induced to withdraw from their ancient felwship, and build up a vast independent slaveholding confederacy. Of one thing, however, we are perfectly assured: John C. Calboun is a dangerous man—an enemy to the an enemy to the Union-an enemy to freedo an enemy to all the great interests of the human race. Let him be watched on loving wing blund

Circumstances have come under our notice since write the foregoing article, which have modified in some degree our views of Mr. Calhoun's designs. The article may go for what it is worth. It contains, we think, too much truth to be omitted. We say this much to explain any difference that may be discerned between the remarks we are about to make, and those we have made. We do not think that he loves the Union more, or hates and fears Northern institutions less; but it now strikes us as not improbable, that his first object may be the Presidency of these United States; failing in that, the Presidency of a new confederacy (Disunion may not be his immediate object, but we cannot rid ourself of the idea that, if his schemes if the schemes of South Carolinacan be accomplished in no other way, a total dissoluti of the Union is contemplated by him. We ask our readers attentively to consider the following facts and suggestions, T

be administration, we houled evil to abolitionists from the balition. We knew that a man of Mr. Calhoun's temper and talents would never have taken such a step, unless well soured it would advance his own interests and designs The great object he contemplates for himself is the higher seat either in the present or a new confederacy; his other sinister designa are, the suppression of abolition ouilding up of slavery, and the annexation of Texas. We ere confirmed in our views by the recent vote in the House on Mr. Patton's resolution. Let us premise here, that we do not speak as a partisun; far from it. Our only object is, to detect and expose the bearings of politics and parties on

On counting over carefully, and arranging the votes this resolution, we found, that out of 62 Whig member from the free states, including Delaware, 55 voted agains the resolution, and 7 gave no votes at all. Out of the 7 administration members from the same states, 60 voted for the resolution, 18 against it, and 11 gave no vote. Then may be a mistake of two or three votes in this allotment but we believe the general accuracy cannot be question Here we see a resolution violating the right of petition, ear ried for the South, by the administration men the free states. This we look on as the first-fruit of the singular alliance now subsisting between Mr. Calhoun and the Executive. In this matter let us say, that, in ou ppinion, the Van Buren representatives have not represent ed the majority of their constituents. We have seen nindications that would lead us to believe, that there is an emarkable difference between the two great parties as regards their hestility to abolitionism.

We proceed further. Mr. Calhoun has introduced

tain resolutions in the Senate, which are intended to suppress abolitionism and secure slavery. He has made the movement in direct opposition to the wishes of many Southern men, who, although they accord with the sentiment mbodied in the resolutions, pronounce their introduce nichtal measure. Is it likely Mr. Cathoun would he vontured on this measure, unless well assured of powerfu upport! We shall see: We shall see whether the same nce which made Mr. Patton's resolutions of will not make these resolutions equally successful.

Still further. The question of admitting Texas is throught up. Until the recent incoments of Calhoun the vote in the House, we calculated on the defeat of slaveholding project, Our opinion is now changed.

on of the Union, -e measure on which South Care tion of the Union,—a measure on which South Carolina and her sons seem fully bent, unless their ambition and settled staveholding policy should intimately prevail. An arrived we note these things; that every man who loves the country—who loves the cause of free principles and free institutions, no matter what his party-treed may be,—may be vigilant and active to pin down every measure which looks

forward to the perpetual preponderance of slaveholding in-P. S.—As confirmatory of what we have said, we from the news just received from Washington, that Cal boun's resolutions seem in a fair way to carry. His first two

Canadian Affairs.

Eren the New York Jour. Com. Jan. 3, 2, P. M.
Hulf Past 2.—The Northern Mail is in. On a wraper from Batavia is written the following:

"200 stand of arms just taken from our ursenal—Buffalo Indians on Grand River Island—400 Regulars just arrived at Chippeway, from the Lower Province—fighting before long, and no mistake." reatened to be burnt-arms taken there to defend the cit

before long, and no mistake."

Correspondence of the Journal of Cammerce.

Buffalo, Saturday morning, Dec. 30, 11 o'clock.

The steamboat Caroline, lying at Schlosser, nearly opposite Navy Island, on the American side, was attacked about one o'clock this morning by five boats of the Royalist, and the greatest portion of those on board were inhumanly butchered, the boat set fire to and sent over the Falls.—

There were about 34 on board, 22 of whom are missing—Capt. Appleby, of the steamboat Constitution, had command of the Caroline, and by an almost miracle escaped.

The C. is a small boat which has heretofore run between this city and Chippeway; and left there vesterday morning

PROCLAMATION!

Buffalo Dec. 30, 1837, noon.

Fellow Citizens:—The report that outrages have been committed by persons from Canada, upon the lives and property of our inhabitants, has justly excited in your based on the lives and property of our inhabitants, has justly excited in your based on the contract of the con that spirit which is so worthy of American Citizens. All legal measures will be promptly taken to prevent any future aggression; and you will be called upon as fast as your ser-

vices are required.

In the meantime, I enjoin you all to act with discretion and only under the direction of the proper authorities.—
The Common Council having blaced ample means at my disposal for the defence of the city, nothing will be wantin on my part to insure the safety to a l-and for that purpos I feel assured that I shall be fully sustained by you,

A competent and well armed City Guard, of respectable
citizens, has been organized, under the authority of the Common Council, and sworn in as City Patrol.

The laws must be strictly enforced; and to prevent any unnecessary alarm, the firing of guns after sundown, is forbidden, and the ordinance in relation, thereto will be rigidly enforced. It is hoped, however, in times like the present, no person will be found who will wantonly violate any law.

The Firemen are requested to be on the alert, and see that their engines are in good order, though it is to be hoped that they will have no occasion to use them.

Citizens are requested to call at any and at all

this office, to report and receive orders.
PIERRE A. BARKER, Assing Mayor.

STATE OF NEW YORK, Brigade, Orders,
BUFFALO, December 30th, 1837.

A requisition has been made on me by the Sheriff of Eric county, for the services of the 47th Brigade of Militia of this State, to aid him in executing the laws of this as well as those of the United States. It is therefore hereby Orders of the United States. It is therefore hereby Orders of the United States. dered, that the several Regiments composing said Brigade, rendezvous at Buffalo without delay, armed and equipped become Citizen Soldiers.

DAVID BURT, Brig. Gen, 47th Brigade.

GEORGE P. STEVENSON, Aidecamp. 1101
FURTHER PARTICULARS OF THE CAPTURE OF THE CAROLINE,—The twelve o'clock express con-irms the news of this morning. It is said that the Catoline was filled with visitors, and not soldiers. The words with the loyalists was, "No prisoners! - No quarters!" Those who attempted to escape were killed, with a few exceptions—the boat was set on fire, and with the commander towed into the current on the Canada side which soon

carried her over the Falls.

The loyalists gave three cheers for Victoris, and under cover of the darkness, it is supposed escaped the fire opened to do it in conformity to the custom of the age. But, if upon them from the island. Those on board the boat slept

Captain Harding of the hrig Indiana, escaped with a severe wound in the head; only one man was found on the shore, the one above mentioned; the rest reported missing—there is little doubt but they went over the Falls with the

From the Birmingham Philanthropist, Oct. 26. Negro Emancipation.

At a Meeting of the Birmingham Anti-Slaver Committee and other Gentlemen, invited by cir cular, from the counties of Warwick, Worcester Stafford, Derby, Salop, Nottingham, Northampton, Oxford, and Leicester, held at the Public Or rice. Birmingham, on Wednesday, 25th October,

Sir J. E. Eardley Wilmot, M. P. in the Chair, he following Resolutions were unanimously adopt-

On the motion of Joshua Scholefield, Esq. M. P. seconded by Dr. Rowley, the Moyor of Lich-

I. That this Meeting deliberately states its conviction, that the British public has been deluded as to the actual condition of the Negroes under the Apprenticeship scheme, such system having merechanged the name of Slavery, without effecting even the measure of liberty which the Imperial Act professed to concede and secure. On the motion of John Steer, Esquof Derby seconded by Thomas Burgess, Esq. Secretary of

the Leicester Anti-Slavery Society. II. That the principles solemnly recorded by the 339 Delegates, who represented the Anti-Slavery community of Great Britain in 1833, in the Memorial of Earl Grey, were altogether sacrificed

in the compensation given to the Planters, and in the provisions of the Apprenticeship Act itself." On the motion of the Rev. John Edwards, o Nottingham, seconded by the Rev. Thomas Jack-

III. That even had the Abolitionists conceder the justice and expediency of this measure, yet both written and personal testimonies concur in establishing the fact, that the Colonists, notwithstanding the payment of the unprecedented sum of Twenty Millions, have succeeded in generally, systematically, and flagrantly violating the Impe-

On the motion of the Rev. Thomas Morgan seconded by James Alsop, Esq. Secretary to the

Leek Anti-Slavery Society.

IV. That the present sufferings of the Slaves are aggravated by the consciousness of their being fraudulently and forcibly deprived of their legal rights; and that this meeting has too much reason o fear, that, notwithstanding their unparalleled pa ence, they may at length be goaded into despe ration, issuing in the desolation of the Colonies.

On the motion of the Rev. John Angell James

seconded by Samuel Dark, Esq. Secretary to the Worcester Anti-Slavery Society.

V. That it is the further judgment of this Meeting, that unless the British Public, which is now awakening to a sense of the cruel oppression and frauds which have been practised upon the Negroes, shall resolutely interfere and supersede the Apprenticeship system by unqualified freedom, the year 1840 will find them ensured in a hopeless bondage, by a system of Vagrant and Police laws, which there is too much reason to conclude are

On the motion of Thomas Missout, Esq. M. P. seconded by Captain Moerson, R. N. VI. That with a firm conviction of the utter hopelessness of any improvement of the system at present existing, and with the experience of the last two years, this Meeting is paramaded that Parlia-

ves and official persons sit therein as judges to determine the merits of a system, in which they a themselves deeply involved and personally interested.

Oo the motion of John Turner, Esquesconde

by Richard T. Cadbury Esq. series his how and VII. That in this discattrons state of things it is expedient to assemble in London a body of Delegates, pledged to the principles developed in the Memorial of 1833, concluding with these the Memorial of 1833, concluding with these words, "We feel bound publicly and emphatically to declare, that while Slavery obtains under any form, however modified, or however sanctioned, we will never relax from our efforts, nor swerve from our purpose, to exert that influence which we may collectively or individually possess, to effect by all legitimate means its immediate and entire That the object of these Delegates be to take such measures as, under the Divine blessing, shall secure entire freedom to the Negro poplation in 1888 ply leanered oth On the motion of the Rev. To M. M. Donnell

conded by Robert Boyle, Esq. of Smethwick. VIII. That the Rev. Wm. March, M. A., the Rev. John Angell James, the Rev. Thos. Morgan, Captain Moorson, R. N. and Joseph Sturge, Esq. be appointed for the above purpose, as Delegates from the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society, the time of assembling being proposed to be the Fourteenth of November, at Exeter Hall; at Ten o'clock; and that the Secretary of the Secretary and that the Secretaries of the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society take steps, at their discretion, for

parts of the United Kingdom.

On the motion of Win. Wilson, Esq. of No. ingham, seconded by the Rev. Wm. Rogers, of

promoting the attendance of Delegates from other

Dudley, IX: That Birmingham be a central point of comnunication for the counties of Warwick, Worcester, Salop, Stafford, Derby, Nottingham, Lei-cester, Northampton and Oxford, for the purpose of promoting public meetings, petitions to Parlisment, and any other steps which the Delegates, when assembled in London, may recommend On the motion of J. C. Middleton, Esq. of

Derby, seconded by Geo. Edmonds, Esq. X. That the proceedings of this day be published in such way as the Secretaries of the Birmngham Anti-Slavery Society may think proper.

J. E. Eardly Wilmot.

Mr. Scholefield having taken the Chair,

Resolved unanimously,
On the motion of Joseph Sturge, Esq. seconded

by John Turner, Esq.
That the cordial Thanks of this Meeting presented to Sir Eardley Wilmot, for his conduct to the Chair this day, and for his constant, zealous, and consistent support of the Anti-Slavery cause,
JOSHUA SCHOLEFIELD.

MILES TOMATO MEDICINE.

The unparalleled success, which has attended the admi-The unparalleted success, which has attended the sumnistration of this medicine, induces its friends to believe
that the cause of Homentary demands, that its virtues
should be speedily made known in all parts of this Continent. The proprietors judge from letters duily received from
physicians and the most intelligent citizens of various sections of our country, that no article, made known in the annals of medicine, has ever given such universal satisfaction,
sustained an perfectly the assertions of its advocates, and so
rapidly gained popular favor.

The proprietors, on its introduction, took special pains to
place it in the hands of the most intelligent and respectable classes of community, and were guarded and cautious
in their tecommendations of its medical virtues. They are
now satisfied, that it possesses virtues that cannot be useribed to any other single medicine.

It is no new theory, that a leage proportion of the diseases
of America, and especialty of the West and South, arise
from billary deranguage of some kind. Consequently, that
medicine must be used, which will remove this cause and
restore a healthy action of the biliary organs. The Tomato
medicine is certain to produce this effect, when taken in

medicine is certain to produce this effect, when taken in proper scales. Hence its superior efficacy and great sucproper season. The property of the stomach and howels, and headache; and, when taken in connection with the "Waldsia," it is an almost certain in connection with the "Walasia," it is an almost certain cure in affections of the hings.

The company have hitherto declined publishing certifi-

the Company's agents, have their doubts removed.

Those who are laboring under diseases that calemet has failed to remove, those who have tried "every thing" until they have become discouraged and disgusted with medicine, those who have seen and felt the deleterious effects of

calonel and mercurial nostrums, and those too, who estoem try this medicine.

Salty arion cannot be produced by its use, and the fear of taking "cold," while under its influence, is probably then white using any other medicine.

and valuable family medicine, one that may be safely sub-stituted for a closet-full of nostrums and mercurial prepara ions, Not unfrequently, those who are travelling suffer intel be found a valuable acquisition.

Agents will be appointed throughout the whole cou

a soon as practicable. Persons wishing to become agen will apply personally or by the recommendation of o SETTIME. Wie silence, by your sureng

One of the Proprietors and Gen, Agent Apothecaries Hall, Cincinnative 19 DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

ANTI SLAVERY WORKS.

For sale at the Anti-Slavery Depository, Cincinnation SLAVES FRIEND, VOL. 1. 236 pp. small 16 mo. cloth. The first twelve numbers of the Slave's Friend, bonny to

The first twelve numbers of the Slave's Friend, bound together. These little books are of irresistable power, Mola,
political demunications, ecclesiastical anathemas, veto messages, and commercial interests, are powerlessto prevent them
from fastening upon the minds and hearts of chidren, with
an unyielding grasp. This volume among a great variety
of anecdotes, dialogues, &c. contains the story of Mary
French and Susan Easton, which chidren always read with internse interest and which they will find it hard eve drive from their minds. It has 29 pictures, SLAVES FRIEND, VOLU II. 240 pp. small 16 mg.

ingly interesting articles, contains an account of the formation of a Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society, with their Constitu-tion, &c., "The stary of the Travelling Fireman, Little Mary, Jack the Preacher, Little Harriet, dec. render this volu ottractive a reserved of the brief between will be a volum

ANTI-SLAYERY RECORD, VOL. 1. 174 pp. 12 mo. This is made up of the monthly Records, for 1835. It is

full of well suitenticated faces and cogent arguments. With elever engravings. The story of the Generous Planter, the statistical and other facts from the West Indies, give it a great value. The articles are all short, pithy, and to the point.

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD, VOL. II, for 1836, 170 This volume, besides the large number of smeals American sidvery, will ustrations of the humanity of Africo Americans,—and very valuable articles on mobs, has one number devoted to extracts from official papers from the West I dies, and three numbers made up of very interesting answers to the following questions: Could they takes are of themselved! How can it be done? Does the Bible same

EVILS AND CURE 190 Pp. 12 moi 4 pact out he

Tow the Pilgrim, on the mountain-top,
With footstep slow and sad, still wending on.
His resiless vision ranged the treacherous earth,
Or upward turn'd, to watch the rising star
Of Destiny!—which, once heaven's height attain'd' Should claim the way-worn as a sacrifice. Bright beam'd the star, still brightening as it rose. Yet-but more feebly,-went the Pilgrim on-At length he troil upon the broken verge Of an abyss, so deep—the keenest glance of fire eyed lightning could not pierce its depth. A cloud came o'er the star, but-as the brink Bogan to crumble—out again it gleam'd, And to! its station was the point of death. A Voice,-from some Unseen-with awful to

tartled the silence,—as the doom'd one stood, Digay, and tottering-saying,- Yield thy scroll !-Elevnity ! 'tie thine !- the Pilgrim said: And, bowing, meek, held forth a trembling scroll, No form appear'd-no hand: but as the scroll Shone in the star-light, instantly-'twas gone! Eternity received it !- and the Year-The weak and weary Year, with one step more Found endless rest far down that searchless void,

What w.ll the acroll disclose to the eye of Eternity is lation to the World—to the Nation—to the Reader?—for wisdom? here and every where!— now and forever

MISCELLANEOUS.

From the Liberator. A LETTER TO ABOLITIONISTS. Boston, Dec. 14, 1837.

A recent event induces me to address to you a fee remarks. I trust you will not ascribe them to a love of dictation, and especially that you will not think me capable of uttering a word of censure, in deference to the prejudices and passions of your opposers. My sympathies are with the oppressed and persecuted. I have labored, in a darker day would tempt me at this moment to speak a disap proving word, if I thought I should give the slight est countenance to the violence under which you have suffered. I have spoken of the slight service which I have rendered, not as a claim for gratitude for I only performed a plain duty; but as giving me a right to a candid construction of what I am now

You well know, that I have not been satisfied with all your modes of operation. I have particularly made objections to the organization and union of numerous and wide-spread societies for the subversion of slavery. I have believed, however, that many of the dangerous tendencies of such an association would be obviated by your adoption of what is called 'the peace principle;' in other words. by your unwillingness to use physical force for self-defence. To this feature of your society, I have looked as a pledge, that your zeal, even if it should prove excessive, would not work much You can judge, then, of the sorrow with which I heard of the tragedy of Alton, where one of your respected brethren fell with arms in his hands. I felt, indeed, that his course was justified by the laws of his country, and by the established opinions and practice of the civilized world. I felt, too, that the violence, under which he fell, regarded as an assault on the press and our dearest rights, free institutions, as if he had fallen an unresisting victim. But I felt that a cloud had gathered over your society, and that a dangerous precedent had en given in the cause of humanity. So strong was this impression, that whilst this event found its way into other pulpits, I was unwilling to make it the topic of a religious discourse, but preferred to express my reprobation of it in another place, where it would be viewed only in its bearings on eivil and political rights. My hope was, that the members of your society, whilst they would do honor to the fearless spirit of your fallen brother, would still, with one loud voice, proclaim their dis approbation of his last act, and their sorrow that rough him a cause of philanthropy had been stained with blood. In this I am sorry to say that I have been disappointed. I have seen, indeed, no justification of the act. I have seen a few disapproving sentences, but no such clear and general estimony against this error of the lamented Lovejoy, as is needed to give assurance against its repe I have missed the true tone in the Ema cipator, the organ of your National Society. I account for this silence, by your strong sympathy with your slaughtered friend, and by your feeling as if one, who had so generously given himself to the cause, deserved nothing but praise. Allow me to say, that here you err. The individual is nothing, in comparision with the truth. Bring out the truth,

suffer who may. The fact, that a good man has fallen through a mistaken conception of duty, makes it more necessary to expose the error. Death, courageously met in a good cause by a respected friend, may throw a false lustre over dangerous principles which were joined with his vir-nes. Besides, we do not dishonor a friend in acknowledging him to have erred. The best men err. The most honored defenders of religion and virtue have sometimes been impelled, by the very fervor which made them great, into rash courses. I regret, then, that your disapprobation of Mr. Lovejoy's resistance to force has not been as earnest, as your grateful acknowedgment of his self-consecra-tion to a holy cause. By these remarks, I do not mean, that I have adopted 'the peace principle' to the full extent of my late venerated friend, Dr. Worcester, whose spirit, were he living, would be bowed down by the sad story of Alton. I do not say, that a man may

in no case defend himself by force. But, it may be that down as a rule; hardly admitting an exception, that an enterprize of Christian philanthropy is not to be carried on by force; that it is time for philanthropy to stop, when it can only advance by wading through blood. If God does not allow us to forward a work of love without fighting for the presumption is exceedingly strong, that it is not the work, which he has given us to do. It is asked, how such a cause, if assailed, is to be adced? I answer, by appeals to the laws, and by vanced! I maswer, by appeals to the laws, and by appeals to the moral sentiment and the moral sympathies of the community. I answer, by resolute patience and heroic suffering. If patience and suffering, if truth and love will not touch a community, certainly violence will avail nothing. What! Shall men, whose starting point is the love of every human being, hope to make their way by slaughter! Shall a cause, which relies on the inculcation of the disinterested spirit of Christianity as its main instrument, seek aid in deadly weapons! Are we not shocked by this incongruity of means and ends! What fellowship has moral sussion with brate force! What concord between the report of the rifle and the teachings of philanthropy.

Let not this language be understood as in any measure extenuating the guilt of Mr. Lovejoy's nurdeners. They stand on the same ground as if they had slain an unresissing man. Their crime drove him to arms. Because his cause was too philanthropic and hely to allow him to fight for it,

to the use of force? Our country is greatly onored by the apathy with which the death o victim to our most sacred rights has been rethis victim to our most sacred rights has been received. Had any other man but an abolitionist fallon in defence of property and the press, how many now cold would have spoken with indignation! Here we learn how little the freedom of the press, considered as a principle, is understood by our citizens; and how few are prepared to maintain it on its true ground. Unless this freedom be complicated with a cause which they approve, the multitude care little for its violation. Unless it be wrested from their own party or friends, they will wrested from their own party or friends, they will not trouble themselves with its defence; und here lies its danger. This freedom will never be assailed but in the person of an unpopular man; and unless defended in this case, will not be defended at all. The press of a powerful party will never be stormed, nor its editor shot. From such violence, the right of free discussion has nothing to fear. It is through a weak party, through the editor who resists public sentiment, that the freedom of the press is to receive its deadly wounds. For these reasons, I felt that there was a peculiar call for solemn public remonstrance against the outrage at Alton. In lamenting that Mr. Lovejoy died with arms in his hands; I do not palliate the crime of his foes, or diminish the obligation of every citizen to lift his voice against this fearful violation

of civil rights.

Nothing is plainer than that Mr. Lovejoy, had he succeeded in his defence, could not have accomplished his purpose, but would have placed himself in a position more unfavorable to doing good than before. Suppose him, by a sustained and well directed fire, to have repelled his assailants. Would he have planted his press at Alton? 'The following morning would have revealed the street strewn with dead bodies. Relatives, friends, the whole people of the surrounding country, would have rushed to the spot. What rage would have boiled in a thousand breasts! What yows of vengeance would have broken from a thousand lips! The men, one and all, who had been engaged in the defence of the press, would probably have been torn limb from limb at the moment. If not, assas sination would have dogged them night and day; and we should have been startled with successive reports of murders, till the last victim had fallen Or suppose Mr. Lovejoy to have fled with hand stained with blood; could he have preached with success the doctrines of love! Would not that horrible night have been associated with all his future labors? Happy was it for himself, happy for your cause, that under such circumstances he fell. beg that this language may not be so construed as if I question the moral or religious worth of Mr. Lovejoy. I know nothing of him but good, except his last error; and that error does not amaze me. That a man hunted by ferocious foes, threat ened with indignities to his person, and with death;

and at the same time conscious of the greatness of his work, conscious that civil rights, as well as the interests of the oppressed, were involved in his decision; that a man, so tried, should fail in judgment we need not wonder. He knew that the constitu tion and laws were on his side, He knew that the prevalent construction of the precepts of Christ which gives a wide range to self-defence, was or his side. We can easily comprehend, how a good man, so placed, should have erred. I believe in his purpose to do and suffer for great truths and man's dearest rights. God forbid that I should give the slightest countenance to the scoffs of men, who had he fallen on their side, would have lauded him

It seems to me of great importance, that you should steadily disavow this resort to force by Lovejoy. There are peculiar reasons for it. Your position in our country is peculiar, and makes it important that you should be viewed as incapable of resorting to violent means.

to the skies.

In the first place, you are a large and growing party, and are possessed with a fervent zeal, such revolutionary conflict. At the same time, you are distrusted, and, still more, hated by a multitude of your fellow-citizens. Here, then, are the elements of deadly strife. From masses so hostile, so inflamed, there is reason to fear tumults, conflicts bloodshed. What is it which has prevented these sad results in the past, in the days of your weak ness? Your forbearance; your unwillingness to neet force by force. Had you adopted the means of defence, which any other party, so persecuted, would have chosen, our streets might again and again flowed with blood. Society might have been shaken by the conflict. If, now, in your strength, you take the sword, and repay blow with blow, what is not to be feared? It is one of the objections to great associations, that they accumuate a power, which, in seasons of excitement and exasperation, threatens public commotions, and which may even turn our country into a field of pattle. I say, then, that if you choose to organze so vast a force for a cause which awakens fierce assions, you must adopt the 'peace principle' as our inviolable rule, You must trust in the laws, and in the moral sympathies of the community. You must try the power of suffering for truth. The first christians tried this among communities more erocious than our own. You have yourselves tried it, and through it have made rapid progress. To desert it might be to plunge the country into fear-ful contests, and to rob your cause of all its sanc-

nas denounced you as incendiaries; has predicted, from your associated efforts, insurrection and mas sacre within its borders. And what has been the reply which you and your friends have made? You and they have pointed to the prevalence of the such effets. You have said, that you shrunk from the assertion of rights by physical force; that, could you approach the slave, you should teach him pa-tience under wrongs, and should spare no effort to warn him against bloody and violent means of relress. What becomes of this defence if you begin to wield the sword? Deeply moved as you are by the injuries of the slave, can you be expected to preach to him submission and peace, if you your-selves shall have caught the spirit of war, the scent of blood? Will the South have no cause of alarm, when the enemies of its 'domestic institutions' shall have sprung up from unresisting sufferers into war-Will not your foes at the North be armed with new weapons for your ruin? To me it seems, that if you choose to array your force under the standard of a vast organization, you are bound to give a pledge to the country that you will not violate its peace. Hitherto, I have appealed confidently to your pacific principles as securities against all wrongs. I have seen with indignation the violate in the property of the propert all wrongs. I have seen with indignation the vio-lence of cowardly and unprincipled men directed against an unresisting band. I trust that your friends will never have cause to grow faint in your defence. I trust that the tragedy of Alton will draw from you new assurances of your trust in God, in the power of truth, and in the moral sym-pathies of a christain people.

I proceed to another consideration. The South

I have now accomplished the chief end which I proposed to myself in this communication. But the same spirit which has suggested the preceding remarks, induces me to glance at other topics.—This spirit is a most friendly one, a sincere desire for your purity and success.

I have more than once, as you well know, lamented the disposition of some, perhaps many of your members, to adopt violent forms of speech. In reply to this complaint, it has been said that the people, to be awakened, must be spoken to with strength; that soft whispers will not broak their lethargy; that nothing but thunder can startle a community, steeped in selfish uncon-

we therefore to justify the violence which drove cern, to the wrongs of their neighbor. What be judged, and that is, the principles from which can be done, it is asked, without strong language? I grant that great moral convictions ought to be given out with energy, and that the zeal which given out with energy, and that the zeal which texaggerates them may be forgiven. But exaggerations in regard to persons, are not to be so readily forgiven. We may use an hyperbolic in stating a truth. We must not be hyperbolical in setting forth the wrong-doing of our neighbor.—As an example of the unjust practice which I hlame, it may be stated, that some among you have been accustomed to denounce slaveholders as "robbers and man-stealers." Now, robbery and stealing are words of plain signification. They imply that a man takes consciously, and with knowledge, what belongs to another. To steal, is to seize privily, to rob, is to seize by force the acknowledged property of one's neighbor. Now, is the slaveholder to be charged with these crimes? Does he know that the slave he holds is not his own? On the contrary, is there any part of his own! On the contrary, is there any part of his property to which he thinks himself to have a stronger right? I grant that the delusion is a monstrous one. I repel with horror the claim of ownership of a human being. I can as easily think of owning an angel as of owning a man.— But do we not know that there are men at the treason. We clung to it as an immutable prin-North who, regarding the statute-book as of equal ciple—as a universal and inalienable right. We authority with the Sermon on the Mount, and looking on legal as synonimous with moral right, believe that the civil law can create property in man as easily as in a brute, and who, were they consistent, would think themselves authorized to put their parents under the lash, should the legislature decree that at a certain age the parent should become the slave of the child! Is it wonderful, then, that men, brought up in sight of enslaved human beings, in the habit of treating them as chattels, and amidst laws, religious teachings, and a great variety of institutions, which recognize this horrible claim, should seriously think themselves the owners of their fellow-creatures? We are sure that they do view the slave as property; and thus viewing him, they are no more guilty of robbing and stealing, than one of you would be, who, by misapprehension, should appropriate to himself what belongs to another. And are we authorized to say, that there are none at the South who, if they should discover their misapprehension, would choose to impoverish themselves rather than live by robbery and crime! Are all hearts open to our inspection? Has God assigned to us s prerogative of judgment? Is it not a violation of the laws of Christian charity, to charge on men, whose general deportment shows a sense of ustice, such flagrant crimes as robbery and theft? t is said, that by such allowances to the master, have weakened the power of what I have written against slavery; that I have furnished a pillow for he conscience of the slaveholder. But truth is truth, and we must never wink it out of sight for the sake of effect. God needs not the help of our ophistry or exaggeration. For the sake of awakning our sensibility, we must not, in our descriptions, add the weight of a feather to the sufferings of the slave, or the faintest shade to the guilt of the master. Slavery, indeed, regarded as a violation of man's most sacred rights, should always be spoken of by us with the deepest abhorrence; and we ought not to conceal our fear, that, among those who vindicate it, in this free and Christian land, there must be many who wilfully shut their eyes on its wrongs, who are victims of a voluntary blindness, as criminal as known and chosen transgression. Let us speak the truth, and the whole truth, and speak it in the language of strong conviction. But let neither policy nor passion carry us beyond the truth. Let a severe principle of duty, stronger than excitement, watch and presid

over all our utterance. Allow me here to speak of what seems to me ery objectionable mode of action, which you societies are inclined to adopt .- I mean, the exclu walls, which an unenlightened zeal has so erected round the communion-table, were giving way, and that none would be excluded. such as should give proof in their lives of y to the Christian law. That the Lord's Supper nould be turned into a weapon of assault on our opponents, is a monstrous abuse of it. Will it be id, that the slaveholder cannot be a Christian and must therefore be shut out? Do we not know that God has true worshippers in a land of slavery Is adherence to a usage, which has existed for ages in the church, an infallible proof of an unsanctified mind? Was not Grimke a Christian whilst a slaveholder? My last conversation with that excellent man turned on slavery; and although he listened patiently to the hope which I express ed, that this evil was to cease, he gave no response o my wishes and hopes. Let it not be said, that by excommunication the conscience of the slave holder will be awakened. We must not for this or any other good, turn a Christian ordinance from its end. The Lord's Supper was instituted to unite in closer bonds the friends of the common Saviour, and through this union to make them nore receptive of light and purifying influence from one another. Let it not be turned into a brand of discord. The time will undoubtedly come. when good men will shrink from slaveholding more than from death. But many a sincere dis ciple is at present blinded to this outrage on hu-man rights; and he ought not to be banished from the table which Christ has spread for all his

friends. I find in your writings a mode of excusing you severity of language, which I think unsound. You ustify yourselves by the strong rebukes uttered by Jesus Christ, But Christ must be followed cautiously here. Was he not a prophet? Was he not guided by a wisdom granted to him alone? Had he not an insight into the hearts and characters of men, which gave a character to his severer judgments? Shall the Christian speak with the authority of his Lord? Nor is this all. Jesus could reprove severly, without the dangers which human reproof. His whole spirit was peset all love. There was not a prejudice or passion in his breast to darken or distort his judgment. He could not err on the side of harshness. Are we so secured! Jesus could say of himself, "I am meek and lowly in heart." So unbounded was meek and lowly in heart." So unbounded was his generosity and candor, that, in the agonies of death, he prayed for the enemies who had nailed him to the cross, and urged in their behalf the only extenuation which their crime would admit. Such a being might safely trust himself to his most excited feelings. His consciousness of perfect love to his worst focs, assured him against injustice. How different was repulse from the line justice. How different was rebuke from the lips of Jesus, from that which breaks from ours! Had we been present, when he said, "Alas! for you, we been present, when he said, "Alast for you, Pharisees, hypocrites!" we should have heard tones which breathed the purest philanthropy.—We should have seen a countenance on which the indwelling divinity had impressed a celestial love. How different were these rebukes from the harsh indwelling divinity had impressed a celestial love. How different were these rebukes from the harsh tone, and hard looks of man! Christ's denunciations had for their groundwork, if I may so speak, a character of perfect benignity, sweetness, forgiveness; and they were in harmony with this. They were scattered through a life which was spent in spreading blessings with the munificence of a God. You justify your severity by Christ's.—Let your spirit be as gentle, your lives as beneficent as his, and I will promise to be contented with your severest rebukes.

with your severest rebukes.

Having expressed my disapprobation and fears, I feel that it is right to close this letter with expressing the deep interest I feel in you—not as an association, but as men pledged to the use of all lawful means for the subversion of slavery. There is but one test by which individuals or parties can

be judged, and that is, the principles from which they act, and which they are pledged to support. No matter how many able men a party may number in its ranks; unless pledged to great principles, it must pass away, and its leaders sink into oblivion. There are two great principles to which you are devoted, and for which I have always honored you; the first is, the freedom of the press. This you have not only vindicated with your lips and pens, but you have asserted it amidst persecutions. The right of a man to publish his conviction on subjects of deepest concern to society and humanity, this you have held fast when most men would have shrunk from it. This practical assertion of a great principle, I hold to be worth more than the most eloquent professions of it in more than the most eloquent professions of it in public meetings, or than all the vindications of it the closet. I have thanked you, and thank you again, in the name of liberty, for this good service you have rendered her. I know of none to whom her debt is greater. There was a time when the freedom of the press needed no defenders in our land, for it was strong in the love of the people. It was recognized as the pervading life, the conservative power of our institutions. A voice raised against it would have been pronounced moral received it as an intuitive truth, as no more to be questioned than a law of nature. But "the times are changed, and we change with them." Are there no signs—is there nothing to make us fear that the freedom of speech and the press, regarded as a right and a principle, is dying out of the hearts of this people! It is not not a sufficient answer to say, that the vast majority speak and publish their thoughts without danger. The question is, whether this freedom is distinctly and practically recognized as every man's right Unless it stands on this ground, it is little more than a name—it has no permanent life. To refuse it to a minority, however small, is to loosen every man's hold of it-to violate its sacredness-t break up its foundation. A despotism, too strong for fear, may, through its very strength, allow to the mass great liberty of utterance; but, in conceding it as a privilege, and not as a right, and by withholding it at pleasure from offensive individuals, the despot betrays himself as truly as if he had put a seal on every man's lips. That state must not call itself free in which any party, however small, cannot safely speak their minds,—in which any party are exposed to violence for the exercise of an universal right,—in which the laws, made to protect all, cannot be sustained against brute force. The freedom of speech and the press seems now to be sharing the lot of all great principles. History shows us, that all great principles, however ardently espoused for a time, have a tendency to fade into traditions, to degenerate into a hollow cant, to become words of little im-

port, and to remain for declamation when their vital power is gone. At such a period, every good citizen is called to do what in him lies to restore their life and power. To some it may be a dis-heartening thought that the battle of liberty is never to end,—that its first principles must be established anew, on the very spots where they seemed immovably fixed. But it is the law of our being that no true good can be made sure without struggle; and it should cheer us to think, that to struggle for the right is the noblest use of our owers, and the only means of happiness and per-

body is, that you are pledged to another principle, far broader than the freedom of the press; and on which this and all other rights repose. You start

Another ground of my strong interest in your

from the sublimest truth. You oppose slavery, not from political or worldly considerations. You take your stand on the unutterable worth of every human being, and on his inalienable rights as a rational, moral, and immortal child of God. Here sion of slaveholders from the privileges of the is your strength. Unlike the political parties Christian church. I did hope that the partition-which agitate the country, you have a principle, That you fully comprehend it, or are always faithful to it, cannot be affirmed; but you have it, and it is cause of joy to see men seizing it even in an imperfect form. All slavery, all oppressive insti-tutions, all social abuses, spring from or involve contempt of human nature. The tyrant does not know who it is whom he tramples in the dust. You have caught a glimpse of the truth. The inappreciable worth of every human being, and the derivation of his rights, not from paper constitutions and human laws, but from his spiritual and immortal nature, from his affinity with God, these are the truths which are to renovate society, by the light of which our present civilization will one be seen to bear many an impress of barbarism. and by the power of which a real brotherhood will more and more unite the now divided and struggling family of man. My great interest in you lies in your assertion of these truths. The liberation of three millions of slaves is indeed a noble object; but a greater work is the diffusion of prin-ciples, by which every yoke is to be broken, every overnment to be regenerated, and a liberty, mor cious than civil or political, is to be secured the world. I know with what indifference the etrine of the infinite worth of every human being. be his rank or color what may, is listened to by multitudes. But it is not less true, because men of narrow and earthly minds cannot comprehend It is written in blood on the cross of Christ.

-He taught it when he ascended and crrried our nature to heaven. It is confirmed by all the inquisitions of philosophy into the soul—by the progress of the human intellect—by the affections of human heart-by man's intercourse with God -by his sacrifices for his fellow-creatures. I am not discouraged by the fact, that this great truth has been espoused most earnestly by a party which numbers in its ranks few great names. The pros perous and distinguished of this world, given as they generally are to epicurean self-indulgence and to vain show, are among the last to comprehend the worth of a human being, to penerate into the evils of society, or to impart to it a fresh impulse The less prosperous classes furnish the world with its reformers and martyrs. These, however, from imperfect culture, are apt to narrow themselves to one idea, to fasten their eyes on a single evil, to lose the balance of their minds, to kindle with a feverish enthusiasm. Let such remember, that no man should take on himself the office of a reformer, whose zeal in a particular cause is not tempered by extensive sympathies and universal love.— This is a high standard, but not too high for men who have started from the great principle of your association. They, who found their efforts against oppression on every man's near relation to God on every man's participation of a moral and immor on every man's participation of a moral and immortal nature, cannot, without singular inconsistency, grow herce against the many in their zeal for a few. From a body, founded on such a principle, ought to come forth more enlightened friends of the race, more enlarged philanthropists, than have yet been trained. Guard from dishonor the divine truth, which you have espoused as your ereed and your rule. Show forth its celestial purity in your freedom from unworthy passions. Prove it to be from God, by serene trust in his Providence—by fearless obedience of his will—by imitating his impartial justice and his universal love.

I now close this long letter. I have spoken the more freely, because I shall probably be prevented by various and pressing objects, from communi-cating with you again. In your great and holy ourpose, you have my sympathies a Limplore for you the guidance

WM. E. CHANNING.

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